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The Ancient Past in Public and Private Historical Consciousness: National Identity and Middle School History Education in Bavaria and East Germany, 1945 to 2000

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PHD

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Abstract

This thesis systematically explores how far, and in what ways, public (official, state-sanctioned) and private (non-official, individual) views of the 'ancient past' inform and or are influenced by prevalent world views, present needs and conditions and, particularly, by notions of national identity. It identifies the mechanisms by which the past is made relevant to the present and investigates to what degree these mechanisms are generic or dependent on particular contexts. The project focuses on post-war West and East Germany (specifically on Bavaria and the GDR post-unification Saxony) as a case study.

The thesis proposes a theoretical framework for the relationship between historical consciousness and national identity, which is used as a basis for the development of methodologies and data-analysis. Two main sets of data are used to explore different aspects of the theoretical model:

1. **'Middle School' educational media as a source for public historical consciousness and national identity:** The analysis of history schoolbooks and curricula investigates how public historical narratives about the 'ancient past' fit into and are affected by the wider socio-political processes which generate and define public notions of historical consciousness and national identity.
2. **Former students as a source for private notions of historical consciousness and national identity:** Interviews with individual members of society explore the nature and level of people's knowledge of the past, their views of (and feelings towards) history and investigate how this is may be related to their sense of national identity.

The final part of the thesis draws the results together and discusses the relationship between the public and the private sphere.

To Indiana, without whom all this would not exist.

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List of Abbreviations

- ACE – Ancient Civilisations of the East
APW – Academy of Pedagogic Sciences
CDU/CSU – Christliche Demokratische Union Deutschlands
FDP - Freie Demokratische Partei
FRG – Federal Republic of Germany
GDR – German Democratic Republic
GEI – Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Schoolbook Research
ISB – Institut für Schulpädagogik und Bildungsforschung
ISP – Institut für Schulpädagogik
KMK – Kulturminister Konferenz
KPD – Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PDS – Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus
PMP-G/E – Post-Migration Period in Germany and Europe
PMP-W – Post-Migration Period in World History
POS – Zehnklassige Allgemeinbildende Polytechnische Oberschule
SED – Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SPD – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
WWI – World War I
WWII – World War II

*"... history is a riddle,
it can also be read as: history is lies
and it can also be read as: history is nonsense
and yet it can be read as: history is predication
and then it can be read as: history is sour fruit
yet still it can be read as: history is balls of wheat-flour
 dumplings
or it can be read as: history is shrouds for wrapping corpses
or taking it further it can be read as: history is a drug to
 induce sweating
or taking it further it can also be read as: history is ghosts
 banging on the walls
and in the same way it can be read as: history is antiques
and even: history is rational thinking
or even: history is experience
and even: history is proof
and even: history is a dish of scattered pearls
and even: history is a sequence of cause and effect
or else: history is analogy
or: history is a state of mind
and furthermore: history is history
and: history is absolutely nothing
even: history is sad sighs
Oh history oh history oh history oh history
Actually history can be read any way and this is a major discovery!"*

(Xingjian, G. 1990: Soul Mountain: 450-1)

Introduction

This thesis argues that national identity is inherent in every nation state. It will explore the different manifestations and forms of national identity and investigate how these are connected to different 'uses', presentations and interpretations of the past.

Situating the Research and Original Contribution

The relationship between the past and the present has been extensively studied over the past twenty-five years. Scholars have approached this complex subject-matter from a range of different angles. For example, much research is devoted to the relationship between academia and politics – with special focus on how the past has been used, abused and perverted in the name and the interests of nationalism, colonialism and imperialism. Several scholars are concerned with how individuals or communities feel about their heritage, what it means to them, how far and in what ways it is 'used' by them. Connected to this, a number of projects look at the past/heritage as a source for, and or a 'tool' in, conflicts between various groups of people. Finally, much research deals with the presentation of history in the widest sense (studies either tend to focus on ethical, didactical or practical aspects).

This thesis adopts a systematic approach to some of these issues. It aims to identify and explain the general processes by which the past is made relevant to the present at various levels in society. Its objective is to investigate the extent to which these mechanisms are generic or dependent on particular contexts. It was decided to concentrate on the relationship between the past and national identity. There are two main reasons for this: first, national identity is an especially important and interesting topic in this increasingly globalised world. Second, I believe that much of the literature that deals with the relationship between nationalism/national identity and history/archaeology does not do justice to the complexity of the issue; many scholars who write about the subject tend to either focus on extreme cases and/or see nationalism

as something negative that is characteristic of authoritarian and totalitarian states, which has very little to do with life in a western, pluralistic, democratic society. I will suggest here that nationalism is inherent in every nation-state and am not interested in value-judgements. Rather, the aim is to explore how different manifestations and forms of national identity are informed by and/or based on different views of (and feelings towards) the past.

These issues lie at the very heart of academic disciplines: I believe that it is important to be aware of the potential impact that research has on society and on the lay-person. If one understands the processes by which research filters down into society and becomes popular knowledge (even tradition) and affects people's and society's fundamental views and beliefs, then one can make sure that information is communicated in ways that is sympathetic and appropriate to its context.

Scope of the Project and Definitions of Key Terms

1. The case study: Germany between 1945 and 2000

In order to limit the scope of this project it was decided to focus on Germany as a case study. There are two main reasons for this decision: first, as post-war Germany was divided into two very different states – one modern, western pluralistic democracy and one centralised, socialist, one-party state very much controlled by the ruling elite – it is an ideal case study to explore the extent to which the processes by which the past is made relevant to the present are generic and to establish in how far they are dependent on specific contexts. It is possible to investigate how two very different contemporary German states (and their citizens) deal with essentially the same heritage and to examine how their respective interpretations and presentations of the past inform/are based on prevalent notions of national identity. Furthermore, the re-unification of Germany in 1990 allows insights into the extent to which drastic changes in the political ideology and socio-political organisation of society affect people's sense of national identity and their 'uses' and perceptions of the past.

Because West Germany and Post-Unification Germany are federal states, it was decided to limit the scope of the thesis further and to focus on two provinces only (note: 'province' is not an ideal translation of the term '*Bundesland*' but in the absence of a better term will be used throughout this thesis): Bavaria in the West and Saxony in the East. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.3.

2. '*Ancient History*'

It was decided to concentrate particularly on the relationship between 'ancient history' and the present. 'Ancient history' is a broad definition that incorporates all archaeological/historical periods (German and 'non-German') from the Palaeolithic to the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire in 962 AD.

3. *The 'public' and the 'private' sphere*

In order to be able to differentiate between how the past affects and is 'used' by different sectors/levels of society, a distinction is made between the 'public' and the 'private' sphere:

- The 'public' sphere refers to everything that is officially and formally sanctioned and/or prescribed. This is where the state is an agent; it deals with what the state decides is best for society as a whole.
- The 'private' sphere refers to individual members and non-official (i.e. non-state) groups and bodies in society.

Aims, Research Questions and Data

The overarching aim of this project is to systematically explore the extent to which, and the ways in which, society's and individuals' views of (and feelings towards) the 'ancient past' inform and/or are influenced by their world views, their perceptions of

themselves and their sense of national identity. Specifically, the thesis focuses on three main research questions:

1. **The public sphere, official interpretations and representations of the past:** What can public historical narratives tell us about the functions the 'ancient past' is intended to fulfil in society and about official notions of national identity?
2. **The private sphere, perceptions of individual members of society:** What can interview-data tell us about people's knowledge of 'ancient history' and the extent to which, and ways in which, this information affects/is influenced by their world views, their perceptions of themselves and their sense of national identity?
3. **The relationship between the public and the private sphere:** What can the answers to Research Questions 1 and 2 tell us about the relationship between the public and the private sphere? To what extent, and how, do they resemble and/or influence each other?

For the public sphere, it was decided to focus on history curricula and schoolbooks. These are considered especially useful sources for the official views of 'ancient history', notions of historical consciousness and national identities as they represent state-controlled 'socialisation agents' (this is discussed in more detail in chapter three). It was decided to conduct interviews with former students in order to explore the nature of private notions of historical consciousness and national identity.

Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is structured in 4 main parts:

- 1) **Introduction:** This includes the theoretical framework and the background information to the case study.

- 2) **Public sphere:** This part of the thesis deals with historical narratives as presented in educational media. It incorporates a comprehensive introduction to education and to schoolbooks and curricula as sources of official notions of historical consciousness and national identity. It then outlines the methodology used in the schoolbook and curriculum analyses and describes and discusses the results in detail.
- 3) **Private sphere:** This part of the thesis is based on interviews with former students. It outlines the aims and objectives of the project, discusses the sample and the methodology used in the study and describes and discusses the results of the analysis in detail.
- 4) **Conclusion:** The conclusion sums-up the results of Part I and Part II, discusses the relationship between the public and the private sphere and outlines suggestions for future research.

Part One: Theory and Background

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

This thesis explores the role of the ‘ancient past’ in public and private displays of national identity; it is concerned with the relationship between national identity/nationalism and history. Two main, closely related, theoretical concepts lie at the heart of this project: national identity and historical consciousness. Whilst most scholars recognise the fact that the two are connected, they tend to focus on one or the other in their research. The aim of this chapter is to explore how a range of selected theories can be used and combined in a way that helps to address the main research questions and establish a sound theoretical framework for the methodology and interpretation of the data in this thesis.

The following diagram summarises the theoretical approach adopted in this project and shows how national identity and historical consciousness (as well as their respective ‘building-blocks’) relate to each other:

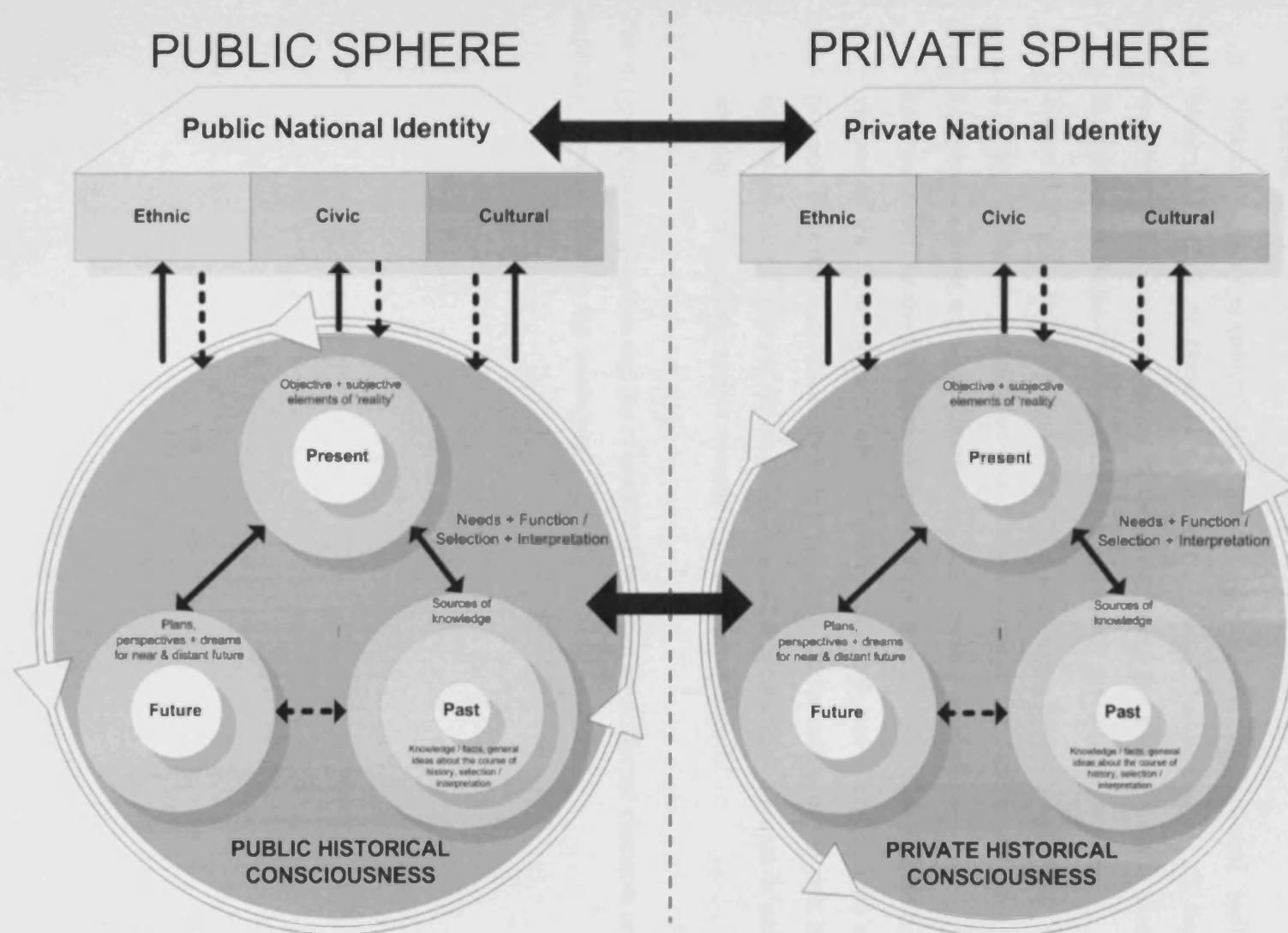


Figure 1: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Public and the Private Sphere

To summarise the main arguments:

- National identity and historical consciousness can be split into public and private spheres.
- National identity is (potentially) based on ethnic, civic and cultural 'building-blocks'. Not all of these elements are equally pronounced at all times – experiences and interpretations of the present and the past as well as plans for the future determine which elements prevail at any given time.
- National identity is the product and, at the same time, the source of a person's or a society's historical consciousness – here defined as the meaningful connection between the three temporal dimensions (past, present and future).
- Interpretations of the past both shape, and are shaped by, people's plans for and visions of the future as well as by their experiences and interpretations of the present. By extension, a society's or a person's interpretation of the past has an impact on their feeling of national identity and affects which element of national identity – ethnic, civic and/or cultural – is most pronounced.

The diagram, its components and the relationship between the different elements are explored in more detail in the following.

1.1. Historical consciousness and national identity

Historical consciousness can be defined as the process by which the three temporal dimensions (past, present and future) are connected in a meaningful way. In doing so, historical consciousness enables collectives and individuals to orientate themselves in time and to define their position within it (Bergmann 1992: 231; von Borries 1998: 410; Jeismann 1989: 39-41; van der Leeuw-Roord 2000: 121; Lorentzen 2000: 34; Pandel 1991: 2; Rüsen et al. 1991: 227-33; Rüsen 1994; Weidenfeld 1989: 14-6). To elaborate, current experiences need interpretation and clarification: a person or a society needs to make sense of what is happening to them. These present experiences and needs are transformed into questions with which the stores of individual or collective memories are addressed. Historical consciousness then modifies the knowledge and the memories of the past in a way that these questions can be answered and the needs of the present can be fulfilled (Rüsen 1989: 57-8). Furthermore, individuals and societies have an ingrained need to make plans for the future and to predict what is going to happen. The nature of these imagined future scenarios and plans heavily depend on experiences and interpretations of the past and the present (Lutz 2000: 52, Weidenfeld 1989: 14).

It is important to stress the fact that the meaningful connection between the three temporal dimensions requires interpretation of 'facts', knowledge, experiences etc.. 'Interpretation' is necessarily accompanied by value judgements, categorisations and selection processes. In other words, 'facts', knowledge, experiences etc. are subjectively filtered and arranged in a way which creates a coherent 'story' with meaning and purpose (Huhn 1993: 23, Kizilyurek 2001: 69-70, Lutz 2000: 52-3, Rüsen et al. 1991: 228). This is discussed further below.

It is argued here that it is the 'orientation-function' of historical consciousness which enables people to develop a sense of identity. Historical consciousness helps people to define themselves in the present – to know who they are – by providing them with an understanding of where they have come from and where they are heading. It is important to note that national identity is only one aspect of someone's identity (James 1999: 70; Smith 2003: 154): people "*retain a multiplicity of allegiances in the contemporary world*" (Smith 1999: 229). In other words, identity is multi-faceted: it is

made-up of a range of different, closely intertwined, aspects. For example, someone's sense of national identity is affected by other forms of social and territorial allegiances. Smith elaborates on this: *"The gendered perceptions of the male population may reinforce their sense of national identity, whereas those of the female part of the same collective may detract from it. The class allegiances of upper and middle classes may subjectively fuse with their sense of national identification, whereas the class solidarities of workers may conflict with their national loyalties. Similarly, some collective religious sentiments can reinforce a sense of national identity [...] whereas some other kinds of religious loyalty transcend and thereby diminish purely national identities"* (Smith 1999: 229).

In this context it is interesting to mention a number of scholars who have argued that national identities and nation-states are losing their significance in an increasingly globalised world; that they will – or are likely to – eventually disappear altogether and that they are being replaced by regional and local identities and affiliations. Two main arguments used to support this view are particularly relevant in the context of this thesis: first, nation-states are losing power internally because of their inability to maintain a homogenous national culture in the face of globalisation; and second, nation-states are becoming weaker as they hand-over powers to supra-national organisations such as the EU (Billig 1995: 128; Guibernau 2001: 256-6; Hutchinson 2001:74). These arguments have been fiercely opposed by a range of scholars who have suggested that a.) nations are not dependent on the existence of a state – in other words, even if the nation-state was to become weaker and/or disappear it would not necessarily lead to 'the death' of the national community, and b) national cultures are still very much 'alive' and, in fact, are re-emerging in both existing nation-states as well as among national communities who do not have a nation-state (Billig 1995: 139-42; Hutchinson 2001: 74; Smith 1994, Smith 1996; Smith 1999: 225-51).

1.2. Diversity and different elements of national identity

National identity should be understood as a fluid process rather than a concrete reality. There are two main reasons for this: first, changes in the social reality lead to changes in the way people interpret and understand the present and in the way they think about and plan for the future. This means that historical consciousness, and by extension national identity, is a dynamic process, it is constantly being changed and modified to meet current needs (Brown and Hamilakis 2003: 1; Fulbrook 1999: 203, 238-9; Jeismann 1989: 40-1; Lutz 2000: 54-8, Pandel 1991: 1-2; Rüsen et al. 1991: 228-9; Schissler 2005: 228; Weidenfeld 1989: 14-6). Second, there is never only one interpretation and view of the present or the past, never only one perspective for the future – different individuals and sectors of society develop their own ideas of how things are, how they have come to be and where they should go. In other words, prevalent notions of historical consciousness and national identity are constantly being contested and challenged, initiating changes and modification (Fulbrook 1999: 141; Smith 1999: 16-7).

Because of their dynamic nature and their dependence on present conditions, it can be argued that the characteristics of public and – especially private – national identities are unique. They are the product of – and can, therefore, only be understood within – the context in which they occur. However, at the same time, it is possible to identify, group and classify common elements among the different and changing forms and expressions of national identity. Most commonly scholars distinguish between two main types: civic and ethnic forms of nationalism. These are discussed in turn:

1.2.1. Civic nationalism

According to Smith (1991) civic nationalism is characterised by four main elements:

1. Civic nations and forms of nationalism are predominantly concerned with territory. Nations must be based on a certain territory with clearly defined borders – and, moreover, not just any territory: people and land must be

connected through memories, experiences and aspirations; territory must to be turned into 'homeland' (Smith 1991: 9-10; Connor 2001).

2. Another pillar of civic nations and nationalisms is the notion of a legal-political community. This is based the concept of the 'patria', "*a community of laws and institutions with a single political will. This entails at least some common regulating institutions that will give expression to common political sentiments and purposes*" (Smith 1991: 10). In short: the members of a community need to believe in, and commit to, a set of shared political practices and values (Ignatieff 1994: 3-4).
3. Civic nations are characterised by legal and political equality of their members. The concept of citizenship is important in this context – the legal and political rights and duties which accompany citizenship are regarded to be integral parts of civic nations: "*that implies a minimum of reciprocal rights and obligations among members and the correlative exclusion of outsiders from those rights and duties. It also implies a common code of laws over and above local laws, together with agency for their enforcement, courts of final appeal and the like*" (Smith 1991: 10).
4. Smith argues that members of civic nations must, to some extent, share a common culture and civic ideology. This 'national' culture is generated by mass media and the public education system. Whereas Smith focuses on common memories, myths, symbols and traditions (Smith 1991: 11), Staab argues that: "*Mass culture, however, goes well beyond this conceptualisation. It defines itself not merely in reference to the past – from history, myths and symbols – which are then expressed in traditions and common understandings, but furthermore refers to a society's reaction to modern technological, economic, political, or social developments in the process of establishing prevalent attitudes, standards, and behaviour that fill one's life with meaning. Meaning in this sense simply implies how individuals organise and conceptualise their lives. Where to go on holiday, what to do after work, where to live, how to define a career, work, and social relations, or what to consume, are questions of mass-cultural relevance that could also be described as life-style*" (Staab 1998: 99).

1.2.2. Ethnic nationalism

Smith (1991) identifies three key characteristics of ethnic nationalism:

1. The most defining character of 'ethnic' nations/nationalisms is the fact that membership is based on descent, on presumed blood ties. Consequently, the national community is viewed as 'supra-family' (whose genealogies are – in many cases – traced back into the past). This marks the greatest difference between ethnic and civic nations and nationalisms: in the civic-model a person chooses to be part of the nation, in the ethnic-model one is born into the national community (Smith 1991: 12; Ignatieff 1994: 4-5; Heckmann 1998: 66-69).
2. Another feature of ethnic nations/nationalisms is the focus on popular mobilisation (based on the view of the 'Volk' as a family): *"the people, even where they are not actually mobilised for political action, nevertheless provide the object of nationalist aspirations and the final rhetorical court of appeal. Leaders can justify their actions and unite disparate classes and groups only through an appeal to the 'will of the people', and this makes the ethnic concept more obviously 'inter-class' and 'populist' in tone, even when the intelligentsia has little intention of summoning the masses into the political arena. Popular mobilisation therefore plays an important moral and rhetorical, if not an actual, role in ethnic conception"* (Smith 1991: 12).
3. Ethnic nationalism places great emphasis on cultural factors: both on 'objective' ones such as (vernacular) languages, religion, customs and skin colour as well as on 'subjective' ones including memories, legends and conceptions of time, space and culture (Oberndörfer 1993: 24-5; Smith 1991: 12; Staab 1998: 127).

It is worth noting that ethnic nationalism can be easily connected to racist ideas and policies and is often accompanied by feelings of superiority towards other ethnic or racial groups (Lepsius 1990: 238).

1.2.3. The relationship between ethnic and civic nationalism and different elements of national identity

It is important to understand that both ethnic and civic forms of nationalism are ideal types in that neither of the two exist in their 'pure' form (Oberndörfer 1993: 53-5). In most cases one of the two types of nationalism is officially established and, for example, anchored in the constitution – this public version of the national identity is likely to be contested and criticised by counter-forces within society (by interest-groups, politicians, parties, members of the public etc) and/or clash with other official policies and values. In Germany, for instance, the ethnic basis of citizenship and the resulting exclusion of large sectors of the population from political life contradicts modern democratic principles of equality and human rights – a situation which is difficult to tolerate for many people and has sparked much debate (Heckmann 1998: 74; Bielefeld 1998b: 119). Equally, Ignatieff points to numerous examples of flourishing ethnic nationalism and/or racism in countries formally committed to civic democracy – such as Canada, Northern Ireland and India (Ignatieff 1994:5).

As a result of these overlaps, it is argued here that ethnic and civic nationalism should not be understood as different types of the phenomenon altogether but should be regarded as potential 'building-blocks' of national identity. The extent to which national identities rest on these 'building-blocks' strongly depends on the context in which they occur (see above). As Staab points out: *"As such, the nation blends two fundamentally different sets of principles. Ethnically, the nation corresponds to shared cultural and genealogical traits, such as customs, traditions, language, religion, or descent. On the civic level, the nation encompasses orientations toward a particular set of political ideas, towards legal rights and civic duties, toward a common mass culture, as well as toward the nation's historic territory. Hence national identity reflects the emotional attachment and degree of loyalty of an individual toward these ethnic and civic characteristics"* (Staab 1998: 5).

Additionally, it is important to note that both ethnic and civic forms of national identity contain cultural elements. This makes it difficult to distinguish between the two, to decide which cultural elements are characteristic of ethnic forms of national identity and which are indicative of civic elements (Brubaker 1999: 62). In order to overcome this problem in the empirical part of this thesis it has been decided to treat 'culture' as a third 'building-block' of national identity (note, this is not a new concept – several scholars have identified so-called 'cultural-nations': for example see Lepsius 1990; Weidenfeld and Korte 1999: 473-4); one that is closely intertwined with both civic and ethnic elements.

In summary, it is proposed in this thesis that national identity is made-up of following 'building-blocks':

- **Civic elements:** based on political orientations and institutions, legal rights, citizenship, civic duties and rights as well as on attachment to the 'homeland'.
- **Ethnic elements:** based on notions of common decent and blood-ties as well as on popular mobilisation.
- **Cultural elements:** all national identities are, to a certain extent, based on cultural elements. However, it is argued here that different aspects of the 'national culture' are emphasised depending on whether civic or ethnic elements prevail. For example, it can be assumed that in situations in which the ethnic 'building-block' is particularly strong, myths of common descent play a bigger role than the celebration of democratic values.

Finally, it is important to emphasise a point which has already been touched upon above: the nature of people's national identities determines and, at the same time is determined by, the definition of national 'in-' and 'out-groups'. For instance, in 'ethnic nations' only those who are considered members of the 'national family' can be part of the 'in-group'; people who do not share the 'national blood' are automatically classified as 'out-group'. Again, it is important to stress the fact that in reality the situation is more complex – national membership is also dependant on a range of other, more civic, factors such as how long a person has lived in the country, the degree to which they are familiar with national customs and the language etc. (see Bauman 1998;

Bielefeld 1998a and 1998b; Csepeli 1989; Fulbrook 1999: 235-6, Salecl 1993; Smith 1999: 247).

1.3. The three temporal dimensions

In order to better understand how national identities are formed and what constitutes national identities it is important to explore in more detail the different temporal dimensions, to examine how they relate to each other and determine why and how they inform a person's or a collective's sense of national identity.

1.3.1. The Present

The present must be the starting-point of any study on national identity and/or historical consciousness. This is because national identities are bound to, and are determined by, the present; they can only be understood in the context in which they occur. Furthermore, the future and the past are experienced in the present; they do not exist outside the context of the present, i.e. present experiences and conditions determine feelings towards, perceptions of and approaches to the other two temporal dimensions.

Fulbrook suggest that national identities are largely informed by the world in which people live; by the nature of existing societal institutions as well as by social interactions in, and experiences of, the present (Fulbrook 1999: 15). The elements which make up present realities can be roughly divided into two main groups: concrete and objective elements (such as the constitution, foreign and internal affairs as well as the political, the economic and legal system), and less tangible, more fluid and subjective elements – for example, values and morals as well as, and this is particularly relevant in the context of this thesis, agendas and plans for the future and interpretations of the past.

Whereas this applies to both the public and the private sphere alike, it is important to understand that public displays of historical consciousness make up parts of the experienced present realities of individuals and vice versa. To elaborate on the nature of the relationship between the public and the private sphere: 'the state'/those in power seek to maintain and/or generate a certain order, power structure and/or value system (this is discussed in more detail below). These attempts take place within – and,

therefore, are largely determined by – the current world order. In other words, present conditions constrain the actions of ‘the state’/those in power and dictate what is possible and conceivable in the present and in the future (and, by extension influences interpretations of the past). The nation, however, only ‘works’ if most of its members – at least to a certain extent – accept, engage and organise their lives in accordance with these public conceptions of how things are, how they were and where they should go. In order to achieve this, the public historical consciousness and sense of national identity needs to be communicated to the people; it needs to become part of people’s present experiences and realities (Fulbrook 1999: 15, 79). This process of developing a public national identity and communicating it to the members of the nation – largely through the public education system – has been referred to as ‘primary’ or ‘produced’ nationalism by Yoshino (Yoshino 2001: 143-7).

On an individual (private) level, people experience and interact with what is around them – with their immediate, personal environment (note: biographical experiences are of particular importance, they determine how a person views, understands and interacts with the world in which they live) as well as with wider more general conditions and developments (Alavi 1998: 48-59; Lutz 2000: 56). The ‘produced’ or ‘primary’ public historical consciousness communicated through various channels – such as the public education system, national days and ceremonies, state-owned TV channels – represents one of the elements in this experienced reality and, thus, one of the factors informing and determining a person’s sense of identity. However, at the same time – and this applies especially to democratic systems – individuals are subject to less formal interpretations of present conditions, of who they are and where they should go. This is what Yoshino calls ‘secondary’ nationalism (Yoshino 2001: 145). According to him ‘secondary’ nationalism is largely based on contemporary social culture. He ascribes special importance to the national intellectual elite who “*provide ordinary people with perspectives from which to think more systematically about their own society and behaviour*” (Yoshino 2001: 145) as well as cultural intermediaries “*for the popularisation of intellectuals’ ideas in contemporary society*” (Yoshino 2001: 153-7).

Billig’s work on ‘banal’ nationalism is closely related to this. He argues that people need to be reminded of their national identity on a daily basis (Billig 1995:38); that national identity needs to be part of their daily experiences. According to Billig, formal

state supervised displays of national identity – such as national days – are not the only point of contact with nationalism in a person's life; they are not enough to shape and maintain a community's and a person's national identity. Instead people need to be/are confronted with reminders and symbols of their national identity in a wider range of contexts – both in a 'primary' and a 'secondary' sense. For example, national flags, symbols on coins and so-called 'homeland deixies' in newspapers (references to 'us' and 'them' etc.) are experienced on a daily basis and help people to remember and, at the same time, shape their national identities (Billig 1995: 38-46). Billig suggests that: *"these reminders, or 'flaggings', are so numerous and they are such a familiar part of the social environment, that they operate mindlessly, rather than mindfully. The remembering, not being experienced as the remembering it is, is, in effect, forgotten"* (Billig 1995: 38).

This leads on to a number of important questions. To what extent are those in power free to 'produce' and communicate their version of national identity and historical consciousness? To what extent do they have to work with, take into consideration and are limited by 'secondary' and private feelings of national identity? And, in what way does 'primary nationalism' impact on, and interact with, people's sense of identity? Several scholars have adopted an instrumentalist and functionalist view of nationalism. In essence, they suggest that nations are artificial communities created by particular interest groups; that those in power make use of certain – in many cases invented – legends, traditions etc. in order to mobilise the masses for the nationalist cause and, by extension, for their personal agendas (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Özkirimli 2000: 85-166; Reinhard 2000: 441-2; Smith 1999: 42-4).

Such an interpretation of nationalism has been criticised on the grounds that it fails to explain why people believe in nationalist movements and why nationalism has such an emotional resonance. Instead, the critics argue that the relationship between public displays of national identity and private interpretations is not simply a matter of 'producing' and 'consuming'; it is not a one-way relationship. In other words, there are limits to what those in power can suggest and propagate: public displays of national identity and historical consciousness need to strike a popular chord if they want to be successful; they must seem plausible to people and match the perceived reality of the majority of the national community (Fulbrook 1999: 15, 232-3). Furthermore,

according to this line of argument, the messages of public nationalism cannot be simply invented from scratch, those engaged in the 'production' of public national identity must work with/around the existing 'national'/ethnic repertoire of traditions, histories and practices (Özkirimli 2000: 169-70; Smith 1999: 11-12). To sum-up the argument, Smith suggests: *"while nationalist intelligentsias obviously played important roles in the creation of particular nations, they required antecedent cultural ties and sentiments in a given population if they were, and are, to strike a deep popular chord and forge durable nations. Finally, the idea that thousands even millions of men and women have led themselves be slaughtered for a construct of their own or other's imagination is implausible"* (Smith 1999: 100). He concludes elsewhere that: *"The images and traditions that go into the making of nations are not the artificial creations of intelligentsias, cultural chefs or engineers, but the product of a complex interplay between these creators, their social conditions and the ethnic heritages of their chosen populations"* (Smith 1999: 171).

In connection to this it is important to mention that several scholars have argued that people's identities can only be stable and develop properly if they can be permanently and extensively integrated into the prevalent social and political reality (Lutz 2000: 56; Weidenfeld 1989: 14-6). By extension, collectives, including nations, can only position and orientate themselves firmly in time, they can only survive, if their members mostly (there is room for conflict – see above) accept and engage in commonly shared views and perceptions; if there is a degree of consensus and overlap in perceptions and ideas between the members of the community (Fulbrook 1999: 16-8; Lutz 2000: 56; Weidenfeld 1989: 14-6). In relation to this, several scholars have stressed the importance of a shared view of the past/of the community's origins as well as commitment to the same goals for the future (Fulbrook 1999: 16-8; Jeismann 1992: 40-1; Jeismann 1985: 13). This is discussed further below.

1.3.2. The future

Furrer argued that it is important for national communities to feel that their nation has a future; that their nation and their community will not cease to exist (Furrer 2004: 22-4; also see Fulbrook 1999: 17; Hobsbawn 2000: 41). In order to create this sense of

continuity, national communities try to predict the future of their nation, they plan for the immediate future as well as indulge in utopias and dreams of how/where they hope their nation will be some time in the distant future. These plans, aspirations and dreams are the product of experiences of the present (for example, people hope to/plan how to overcome economic crises, war, political tensions etc.) as well as interpretations of the past (who are we, how have we come to be and where will/should/could this lead us in the future). At the same time, visions of the future, on both a public and an individual level, impact on how people experience and evaluate the present and interpretations of the past.

1.3.3. The Past

The present and the past are closely intertwined; the relationship between the two is reflexive – on the one hand the past fulfils certain ‘functions’ in the present (i.e. the past has an impact on the present, on the way people feel about themselves and their identities), on the other hand the past is ‘constructed’ in the present (i.e. present conditions, needs and circumstances determine how the past is interpreted and presented). These two dimensions are explored in more detail in the following:

1.3.3.1. The role of the past in the present – ‘functions’ of the past

The past potentially fulfils a range of closely related functions in the present – the most important ones in the context of this thesis can be summarised as follows (note: ‘functions’ not central to this research project – such as aesthetic appreciation etc. – are not discussed in this chapter):

1. **Explanation and Guidance:** The past explains the present; it explains how things have come to be. By showing ‘us’ where ‘we’ have come from, it tells ‘us’ who ‘we’ are and why ‘we’ are the ‘we’ we are (Jeismann 1985: 13; Panel 1991: 14). Furthermore, the past guides ‘our’ actions and thus determines the direction of social change. It provides us with examples and/or values of how we should and should not behave, what we should change and aim for (Smith

1999: 57; Smith 1999: 263-4; Staab 1998: 5). The way in which the past is interpreted and historical narratives are constructed, depends on present conditions and needs as well as on the questions asked in the present (this is discussed further below).

2. **Definition and Characterisation:** Looking back on to the past helps people to define and characterise themselves and others – it helps them see and understand who they are and who they are not, to define the national ‘in-’ and ‘out-groups’ (Furrer 2004: 22-4; Jeismann 1992: 40-1; Lutz 2000: 56; Smith 1991: 23). Consequently, notions of a common past help the national community to view itself as an entity, to understand itself as a group of people who have more in common than they have differences (Furrer 2004: 22-4; Jeismann 1992: 40-1; Lutz 2000: 56; Smith 1991: 23). In addition, the belief in a shared national history which is different from that of other nations allows members of the nation to feel somewhat special and unique (Furrer 2004: 22-4).

This leads on to another important point: the definition of the national ‘in-’ or ‘out-group’ is not usually value-free – national identities are commonly (not always) based on positive feelings towards the nation. In other words, in most cases looking back on to their national history makes people feel good about their community; it fills them with pride, a sense of self-worth, self-respect and dignity. This may also apply to situations where people suffer hardship in the present, in situations where people do not have much to feel proud of or good about in their experience of the ‘national present’ – in these circumstances the past serves as a source of pride; it reminds people of happier, more glorious times, to which they are hoping to return (Lowenthal 1985: 41; Rüsen et al. 1991: 232-33; Shnirelman 1999: 45; Smith 1999: 62-70; Smith 1999: 262-5).

Again, it is important to stress the reflexive relationship between the past and the present: historical narratives do not merely show people who they are and where they have come from, they are in themselves created in the present and are influenced by present conditions and needs.

3. **Legitimisation, Validation and Justification:** Individuals and collectives do not only need to know where they have come from, who they are and where they should go in the future. They also need to feel, as well as demonstrate to themselves and others, that what they are doing and who they are is right and just. In other words, people need to validate their claims in the present – they need to legitimise their existence, ownership of a certain territory or homeland, their actions, institutions, political ideology, aims for the future etc (Antoniou and Soysal 2005: 109-10; Jeismann 1992: 40-1; Lowenthal 1985: 53-5; Lutz 2000: 60; Kizilyurek 2001: 69; Schörken 1984).

Pingel (1984: 123) has summarised these different aims and identified four main goals of legitimisation:

- to legitimise one's personal biography in order to stabilise and/or reinforce oneself;
- to legitimise or justify a particular situation in order to reinforce and/or ensure one's position in the world in front of others/the public;
- to legitimise political practices and decisions, the political system and ideology and/or a revolution or political change;
- to legitimise the course of history.

Additionally, both von Borries and Pingel have argued that there are different forms of legitimisation. In their work Pingel and Westheider (1984: 122) focus on the context and the intention in which/with which particular legitimating arguments arise; they suggest that legitimisation:

- can be subconscious, unquestioned;
- can be intentional and deliberate (often not based on historical fact);
- can be the result or outcome of sound scholarly research.

Von Borries (1984: 50-4) examined the extent to which – as well as the way in which – history is used in different types of legitimisation and explores how this is linked to forms of historical identity and feelings towards the past. He suggests the following classification:

- Minimal use of history; legitimisation without history – this results in a history-free historical identity. This type of legitimisation arises from a lack of interest and a perceived lack of importance of history.
- Affirmative use of history; legitimisation through history – this results in a continuous historical identity. This type of legitimisation arises from a feeling of pride, superiority and re-affirmation.
- Destructive use of history; legitimisation against history – this results in a negative historical identity. This type of legitimisation arises from a sense of shame, exposure and Schadenfreude.
- Reflexive use of history; legitimisation despite/in the face of history – this results in a balanced historical identity. This type of legitimisation arises from a sense sadness, hope, mission and problem-awareness.

4. **Stabilisation and Support:** How can history – or, more specifically, certain interpretations of the past – stabilise, strengthen and support feelings of identity and group affiliations? This question is widely discussed in the literature and is closely related to the three points outlined above – to summarise:

- Knowledge of 'one's roots and one's history makes possible and has the power to generate a feeling of belonging and security: Jeismann argues that it is not possible to understand the complex connections and relationships in the social reality of life, it is not possible to feel safe and at home anywhere, to engage in collective projects and agendas (started in the past and finished in the future) without a sense of history; without an understanding of 'one's past and its impact on the present' (Jeismann 1985: 13).
- A sense of continuity combats fears of the future: history tells people how they have come to be. It thus links the past to the present and creates a sense of continuity which extends/projects into the future and bridges the gaps between the temporal dimensions. As a result time becomes manageable, imaginable and predictable. In case of nations, this means that the members of a national community – those in the past, in present and in future – are seen as one, as an entity (Furrer 2004: 22-8; Jeismann 1985: 214-6; Spakowski 1999: 29).

- A shared past creates a feeling of fraternity and community: in order to develop a feeling national identity, people need to feel part of the national group – history and common historical experiences are one of the means of creating and fostering such group affiliations (Fulbrook 1999: 17; Furrer 2004: 24-6; Morris-Suzuki 2003: 44-6; Oberndörfer 1993: 26-9; Smith 1999: 88; Wolfrum 2002: 5-6).

Additionally, Smith argues that history has a stabilising effect even in those cases where the national past is contested – where different sectors of society create or focus on conflicting versions of the past. According to him, the social splits and divisions created by such controversial approaches are only temporary – *“in the longer term, their tension and interplay serves to mobilise popular action and regenerate the community. Rival myths may push policy in different directions; but they also limit the options and present a circle of assumptions and dynamic impulses which help to raise the self-consciousness of ethnic members. Hence, at another level, ethnic myths of descent provide frameworks of developmental meaning which underpin the sense of community among all strata, and answer the problems of insecurity shared by all members. In the longer term, the rival definitions of national identity tend to emerge; by provoking encounters with other national communities, by seeking title-deeds to disputed territories, they coalesce to form a community which, while still riven by social conflicts, has become more unified at the level of history and culture, and more sharply differentiated from other cultural communities. Seen in this light, competing myths of descent and the social cleavages they highlight, are analogous to family feuds in which each branch or individual aims to achieve its due within the overall nexus of kin security and status”* (Smith 1999:87-8).

On a final note, Smith suggests that in cases where there is no useable and/or easily recognisable shared past available, the creation and development of identities is much harder and less likely to be successful (Smith 1999: 19). Nations with ‘rich’ histories are more likely to survive times of trouble and upheaval (Smith 1999: 265). In other words, not all nations have an equally ‘rich’ or well-documented past. This unevenness of ‘historical cultural

resources' is often a source of national competition, envy and conflict (Smith 1999: 16-7).

1.3.3.2. The past as a construct of the present – the question of 'content'

Not just any account of history can cater for the needs of the present and can fulfil the functions as outlined above – particular historical narratives are required. The structure and 'content' of these narratives is determined by present needs, circumstances and conditions. The question of 'content' is particularly important in the context of this thesis: the main research aim is to investigate the extent to which, and the way in which, a particular period – the 'ancient past' – features in public and private historical narratives and, by extension, how it is connected to the functions history fulfils in the present.

So what exactly is meant by 'content' of historical narratives and historical consciousness, what does it entail and how does it manifest itself? Both Alavi (1998: 66-7) and Jeismann (2000: 65-6) distinguish between three main, but closely related and intertwined, components of 'content':

1. Historical Facts and Knowledge

In this context the term 'historical facts' is defined broadly, it encompasses everything people or societies 'know' and/or remember about the past – about historical periods, figures, events, processes etc. (Alavi 1998: 66-7). Knowledge and memories of the past derive from a vast range of sources – for example:

- Biographical knowledge based on personal experiences and memories (Furrer 2004: 19-20; Lutz 2000: 46-8).

In this context it is worth mentioning that the 'formative' years in a person's life are of particular importance – several scholars have argued that the way in which people store and make sense of new information and experiences is influenced by what they already know, by what they have learned and experienced during these formative years. This is one of the reasons why this project focuses on the impact of history

education (Antoniou and Soysal 2005: 105-6; Csepeli 1989: 19-28; Jenkins 2002: 74-84; Pingel 1998: 37-8, 48; Pingel 1999: 7, 27; Rüsen 1998: 4; Soysal 2000: 130). This explains partly why there are certain generational differences in the nature of people's historical consciousness. People of the same generation have experienced and, therefore, remember a similar socio-political reality and have encountered similar interpretations of the past during their formative years (Brown and Hamilakis 2003: 1; Pandel 1991: 1-2; Schissler 2005: 228).

Note: This applies more to the private than to the public sphere of historical consciousness and, by extension, national identity.

- 'Social memory', 'memory' of history which was not directly or personally experienced by members of the national community, 'tales of the past' which have been passed on from generation to generation (Fausser 2000: 41-2; Fulbrook 2000: 1985-7; Furrer 2004: 19-20).

Note: This affects both the public and the private sphere – 'social memory' includes family, local and vernacular 'histories' as well as more official and state-regulated displays of the past.

- The results of scholarly research, academic knowledge (Dörr 1992: 259). Research aims and methodologies are very much influenced by the *Zeitgeist*, popular fashions and trends (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996: 1-11; Härke 1993; Trigger 1984; Trigger 1989). Furthermore, it is important to note that academic research is constantly being updated. Latest research results, however, might not necessarily be well-known or widely circulated – it often takes several years for new ideas to become established and accepted (if at all). By extension, 'old' and 'out-of-date' research is often very persistent and survives for many years in non-academic circles.

Note: Both 'public' and the 'private' historical consciousness can potentially 'draw' from the 'pool of academic knowledge'. However, it can be presumed that in most cases academic knowledge has a bigger impact on public displays of historical consciousness than on

individuals. For instance, extensive research goes (or should go) into the creation of educational media – presenting students with a filtered, interpreted and carefully arranged account of some of the academic literature around at the time.

- Traditions and rituals.

Note: It is important to distinguish between traditions and rituals ‘produced’ and communicated by ‘public’ institutions (and consumed by individuals) and more ‘private’, less official vernacular, local, personal and/or religious traditions and rituals.

- Myths and legends: The structure and ‘content’ of myths and legends depends on present needs and conditions, prevalent forms of national identity as well as on the nature of the existing cultural heritage. Smith identifies three main types of myths: myths of ethnic descent, myths of ethnic election and myths which are concerned with the ‘ancestral land’ (Smith 1999: 16; Smith 1999: 57-68). Furthermore, he distinguishes between “*myths that cite genealogical ancestry from those that trace ideological descent, between ‘biological’ and ‘cultural-ideological’ myths*” (Smith 1999: 57-8).

Note: As before, it is important to distinguish between myths and legends ‘produced’ and communicated by ‘public’ institutions (and consumed by individuals) and more ‘private’, less official vernacular, local, personal and/or religious myths and legends.

- The ‘media’ – for instance books, newspapers, TV programmes, movies etc.

Note: These can be either be owned, censored and/or regulated by the state or by private individuals or groups. In both cases they are ‘consumed’ in the private sphere by members of the national community. Furthermore, the independent media have an influence on the public ‘sphere’ and the way in which public displays of historical consciousness and national identity are received by members of the national community – the ‘free’ press often reviews, criticises,

challenges or supports official interpretations of the past and the present as well as plans for the future (see secondary nationalism, above).

- ‘Official’ and ‘public’ displays of history/historical ‘facts’ – such as museums and history education in schools. This relates back to the discussion above: public interpretations of the past need to be experienced by people in the present.

Note: These are ‘produced’ in the public sphere and ‘consumed’ in the private sphere.

From the above it becomes clear that ‘historical facts’ can be ‘true’ (or, better, based on scholarly research – as knowledge of the past is always subjective to a certain extent – Härke 1993: 3-7; Jeismann 2000: 147-8), legendary or false (either by mistake or deliberately invented and twisted) (von Borries 1988: 93; Jeismann 2000: 49; Jeismann 1988: 171; Wimmert 1994: 3).

After having outlined what is meant by ‘historical facts’ and knowledge, it is important to stress the fact that historical consciousness cannot operate without it; the two are interconnected, one makes possible and is expressed through the other (Rüsen et al. 1991: 233-4; Rüsen 1998: 8). As such a person’s sense of identity is shaped by what they actually know (or think they know) of the past. This is true for collectives as well as individuals. For example: several scholars have argued that many Germans have a problematic/uneasy relationship with their national identity because of the crimes committed during the Nazi period (Alter 1992: 185-202; Betz 1997: 41; Fulbrook 1999; Jarausch 1997b: 25; Westle 1999: 64, 230-44, 318 – this is discussed further in the next chapter). This is, however, only possible because as a nation the Germans are aware of these crimes. A German growing up oblivious of Hitler’s existence, the Holocaust or WWII would very probably develop a different self-understanding and identity.

2. General Ideas about the Course of History

‘Content’ also includes ‘general ideas about the course of history’, certain value judgements and perceptions of historical progress and dynamics. These do not necessarily have to be very clear or explicit (Alavi 1998: 66-7; Fulbrook 2000: 185-6). For example, Alavi suggests that they often manifest themselves in subtle expressions such as ‘*Der kleine Mann zahlt immer die Zeche*’ (‘the poor man always pays the bill’). According to her such a statement reveals a certain view of history: history is made by ‘great men’, they make the important decisions and ordinary people suffer the consequences. She argues that these general conceptions of history are naturally accompanied by judgements and evaluations of history which, in turn, are closely linked to both public and private identities (Alavi 1998: 66-7). The processes and mechanisms behind this are discussed further below.

Furthermore, it is argued here that general ideas about the course of history are also expressed in so-called ‘*Geschichtsbilder*’ (‘pictures of history’). In this thesis ‘*Geschichtsbilder*’ are defined as static representations or ‘snap-shots’ of people’s understanding of and approach to the past (pictures of how people envisage historical dynamics) – which, of course, may change over time. ‘*Geschichtsbilder*’ can take numerous forms and express a range of different views and interpretations of the past – to name a few prominent examples: ‘Christian-Occidental’- Marxist-Leninist-, ‘biological-racial-’ and ‘Germanocentric’-‘*Geschichtsbilder*’ (Schneider and Wilharm 1992: 262). It is important to note that this is a very simplistic definition of the term – there are vast amounts of literature but little consensus about what ‘*Geschichtsbilder*’ actually are and how they relate to historical consciousness (see, for example, Ferro 1991; Furrer 2004: 19-21; Jeismann 2000: 143; Jeismann 1985: 68-9; Schneider and Wilharm 1992: 261-4).

3. Selection and Interpretation

Both Jeismann and Alavi argue that ‘selection’ and ‘interpretation’ of historical facts and knowledge constitute important elements of ‘content’ in private and public historical consciousness (Alavi 1998: 66-7; Jeismann 2000: 65-6).

Basically, it is not possible to know, deal with or make 'use' of the whole of history; only certain historical facts, experiences and memories are remembered and/or feature in a person's or a society's historical identity (Lowenthal 1985: 66-9). For example, only certain events, periods or historical figures are included in the histories nations write about themselves (note: this is also true for autobiographies etc.) – more specifically, only those images of the past are incorporated which match the image the nation has of itself, is in tune with prevalent notions of national identity and caters for national needs in the present. By extension, undesirable, unsuitable or simply uninteresting aspects of the past are ignored, misinterpreted or twisted (Schissler 2005: 234; Stojanovic 2001: 27-8; Trigger 1995: 272).

Smith summarises the purpose of, mechanisms behind, and the constraints of, these selection processes as follows: "*Nationalists have a vital role to play in the construction of nations, not as culinary artists or social engineers, but as political archaeologists, rediscovering and reinterpreting the communal past in order to regenerate the community. Their task is indeed selective – they forget as well as remember the past – but to succeed in their task they must meet certain criteria. Their interpretations must be consonant not only with the ideological demands of nationalism, but also with the scientific evidence, popular resonance and patterning of particular ethno-histories*" (Smith 1999: 181).

Furthermore, history is not only selective; it also heavily relies on the interpretation of 'facts' and information. In other words, history is never objective – historical knowledge, research, memories and experiences always represent a re-constructed version of the past. They are adjusted with hindsight, are closely linked to forgetting and can, therefore, not portray a historically correct version of events (Banks 1996: 6-7; Brown and Hamilakis 2003:1-2; Halbwachs 1985; Härke 1993: 3-8; Huhn 1993: 23; Kizilyurek 2001: 70; Lutz 2000: 48; Reichel 1995: 13-47; Wolfrum 2002:6-7; Silberman 1995: 261).

In short, it is these selection and interpretation processes which contribute to the creation of coherent 'narratives' with meaning and purpose (Rüsen et al. 1991:

228). It is important to stress the fact that, because historical consciousness is influenced and shaped by the experiences and needs of the present, the way in which meaning is created is dependent on the context in which the historical narrative is created (von Borries 1988: 92-4; Fritzsche 1992: 55-8; Rüsen et al. 1991: 228-9). It is dependent on the purpose the past is to fulfil in the present. This equally applies individuals and collectives.

Finally, to summarise the arguments in this section: the past fulfils certain functions in the present. At the same time the selection of historical 'facts' and the interpretation of the past is influenced by the present – meaningful historical narratives reflect, support and guide the socio-political reality as well as people's national identities. Additionally, it is worth noting that because the socio-political reality is not fixed and because it is experienced differently by different members and sectors of the community, interpretations of the past, too, are challenged and change over time.

1.4. Summary: the relationship between the public and the private sphere

The relationship between the private and the public sphere has been discussed at different stages throughout this chapter – to briefly sum-up the main points: the public and the private sphere are closely connected, depend upon one another and influence each other. Public/official notions of national identity and historical consciousness are communicated to the population; they are part of people's experienced reality and, as such, inform and influence their views and perceptions. It is, however, important to understand that people do not simply adopt these official interpretations and messages – they interpret and evaluate them according to their individual 'mental structure' and match them up against previous and current experiences (Lutz 2000: 46-7; Pandel 1991: 2-4). As a result of this process, official/public notions of national identity and historical consciousness are either accepted and realised or rejected. This has implications for the public sphere: as large discrepancies between public/official and private/individual notions of national identity and historical consciousness lead to social and political instability and questions of legitimacy, it is in the interest of the state those of in power that its/their views with regard to fundamental questions such as 'who are we', 'why are the way we are' and 'where do we want to be in the future' are largely shared by the population. In other words, in order to create a stable and credible state and to secure the support of the population, those in power need to take into consideration private notions of national identity and historical consciousness – not anything goes, political leaders need to strike a popular chord. This is not to say, however, that the government/the official views are or should be entirely influenced by what the population feels and thinks – governments have the power to influence/shape people's views and feelings but they are generally more effective, successful and persuasive if they stick to certain parameters and remain within a broad sphere of what is imaginable to/accepted by the population.

Chapter 2

The Case Study – Introduction to German History, Historical Consciousness and National Identity between 1945 and 2000

German historical consciousness and national identity in the post-war era are complex and highly contentious issues which have been the subject of much scholarly research, public debate and political attention. Two main factors are responsible for this:

1. **The Nazi Past:** The heinous crimes committed by the Germans during the Nazi period made it difficult – yet, as we shall see, not impossible – to develop an affirmative relationship with the past. Also, the very concept of nationalism was so utterly abused and perverted in the Third Reich that that following generations of Germans were extremely cautious in their definition and use of the term; the meaning and evaluation of the nation and national identity had to be completely revised and many Germans rejected the concept altogether.
2. **The division of Germany:** These difficulties were re-enforced and enhanced by the fact that Germany was divided into two fundamentally opposed states for most of its post-war history. This division made it hard to define both the nation and the state and to establish the relationship between them. Furthermore, the fact that both German states essentially shared the same history raised fundamental questions about the rights to and the ownership of the national past.

The following elaborates on how the subject of national identity and historical consciousness was approached at different times in the two German states (or, three – if one considers post-unification Germany as a different state).

2.1. West Germany/the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG): 1945 to 1990

2.1.1. The early years: West Germany/the FRG from 1945 to the mid-1960s

2.1.1.1. Historical background

After the war the Allies divided Germany between themselves into four Occupational Zones. In the rise of the Cold War the three western occupational powers gradually merged their parts of Germany and initiated the emergence of a 'free' and capitalist West German state, seen as an ally and buffer against the communist East – in 1949 the 'Federal Republic of Germany' (FRG) was founded in West Germany. The East responded promptly with the foundation of the 'German Democratic Republic' (GDR) on the territory of the Soviet Occupational Zone (Fulbrook 1990: 204-11; James 1989: 177-95; Raff 1992: 397-30; Recker 2002: 11-24; Winkler 2000: 116-42).

The FRG was governed by the conservative CDU/CSU ('Christliche Demokratische Union Deutschlands') until 1966. The opposition in the Bundestag was formed by the Social Democrats (SPD), the Liberals (FDP) and, at first, the communists (KPD – the party was outlawed in 1956). The early history of the FRG is very much characterised by 'Western integration' – the FRG became part of NATO and its politicians were very much engaged in improving and formalising relations with its western European neighbours. During this time the FRG developed a very strong economy – often described as the 'economic miracle' that followed the disaster of WWII (Fulbrook 1990: 211-8; James 1989: 177-95; Raff 1992: 437-53; Recker 2002: 25-45; Winkler 2000: 142-243).

2.1.1.2. National Identity

In many ways the basis for both public and private national identities was formed during the early history of the FRG:

The 'ethnic building-block' represented a strong element in the FRG's public national identity. This manifested itself in two main ways: first, the existence of one all-German nation was enshrined in the constitution; the FRG saw itself as the only and rightful heir of the German Reich and was legally obliged to actively seek and aspire to the German re-unification. Second, citizenship was defined in 'ethnic' terms, based largely on descent (Jeismann 1985: 226-7; Fulbrook 1999: 20, 180-4; McKay 1998: 154; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 4-5; Oberndörfer 1993: 67-70; Wakenhut 1995: 13): everyone with at least one German parent was considered to be German – regardless of their place of birth or country of residence (Heckmann 1998: 66-9; Ignatieff 1994:74-5, Kurthen 1997: 74-7).

It is important to note that the ethnic basis of German citizenship must not be mistaken for a legacy of the Nazi racial policies. The choices made by the founders of the constitution in 1948-49 can be explained by the special historical circumstances in which the FRG was born: not only did the occupying powers stipulate a collective and ethnic definition of 'Germaness' (Kurthen 1997: 89-90), but Germany's borders shifted considerably after the war (and were not fixed until 1990) resulting in a situation where large numbers of 'Germans' suddenly found themselves under 'foreign' (for example Polish, Soviet or later GDR) rule. The aim of 'ethnic' citizenship was to guarantee all those 'Germans' who lost their homes in areas that were no longer part of 'Germany', those who suffered from persecutions in the aftermath of the war and generally all those living in what was viewed as 'undemocratic' socialist regimes an opportunity to live in the FRG in a free and democratic system (Bielefeld 1998b: 117-8; Fulbrook 1999:183-4).

The 'ethnic components' of public national identity were complemented by and, in many cases clashed with, more 'civic building-blocks': for example, the ethnic definition of the German '*Volk*' lead to the exclusion of foreigners from political life and decision-making processes ("*Alle Staatsgewalt geht vom Volke aus*" – 'all state-power is initiated/owned by the *Volk*'). This is often perceived as directly contradicting the democratic nature of the constitution as well as the political value system of the FRG (Heckmann 1998: 68-9; Jeismann 1985: 226-7; Krisch 1999: 34,39; Oberndörfer 1993: 67-70). Furthermore, clashes between 'ethnic' and 'civic' components also occur in the context of unification: as outlined above, the Germans were, according to the

constitution, committed to the re-unification of Germany. Yet there was general consensus in West Germany – especially in the early years – that reunification should not take place at any cost. In other words, democracy and democratic freedom was valued higher than the ethnic unity of the German people – ‘freedom before unity’, no unification under socialist rule (Jeismann 1985: 226-7).

The importance of the ‘civic building-block’ of national identity also becomes apparent when one considers the political context. Especially in the early history of the FRG, West Germany legitimised itself against the GDR as a civic nation, through its political and moral value system which preached freedom, equality and participation (Jeismann 1985: 226-7; Wolfrum 1985: 85).

This conflict between ‘ethnic-’ and ‘civic building-blocks’ of national identity in the public sphere posed difficulties for the formation of private identities: citizens were essentially required to commit themselves to the civic nation, to develop attachments to and loyalties for the FRG and, at the same time, to maintain an all-German sense identity (Jeismann 1985: 228). In practice these demands were not fully realised. Generally it can be said that ethnic notions of the ‘nation’ and the ‘*Volk*’ became utterly discredited in the post-war era: after 1945 many people felt ashamed to be German, had ‘had enough of’ the German nation and ‘*Volk*’, rejected ethnic components of identity (Alter 1992: 185-202; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 5-6; Rohlfes 1988: 155) and consequently and gradually gave up hopes for/interest in the reunification with the GDR. At the same time, many West Germans very quickly developed a sense of civic identity (‘constitutional patriotism’) and identified very much with the economic success of the country (‘*Deutschmark-Nationalismus*’) (Fulbrook 1999: 18-21; Jeismann 1985: 226-7; McKay 1998: 154-5; Rohlfes 1988: 155; Staab 1998: 128).

There are several reasons for this strong ‘civic’ sense of identity among the population: first, in the rise of the Cold War, West Germans felt that they were finally doing the ‘right’ thing; that they stood on the ‘right’ side (Rohlfes 1988: 155), a positive feeling after the crushing defeat in WWII and subsequent moral conflicts. Additionally, it can be said at the time of the Cold War people were primarily concerned with fundamental ideological and systematic questions, that ethnicity simply was not at the top of the agenda (Staab 1998: 128). Furthermore, people very much enjoyed their newfound

economic wealth and felt pride in the economic (and physical) reconstruction of the country and did not want to jeopardise or trade this in for a discredited all-German nation ('freedom before unity') (James 1989: 187-9; Jeismann 2000: 126; Jeismann 1985: 225-6; Rohlfes 1988: 155).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that during these years in which the 'nation' and the '*Volk*' became so discredited, local/provincial and European identities became viable alternatives – on a public as well as on a private level. The framework for these was provided by the federal structure of West Germany as well as by the 'European integration' pushed forward by the government. It has been suggested that the Germans rather enthusiastically 'threw' themselves into the idea of Europe because they felt ashamed of being German, and felt they had to compensate/make-up for being German – an alibi-identity (Betz 1997: 43; Fulbrook 1999: 1999-202; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 5-6).

2.1.1.3. Historical consciousness

During the first two decades after the war the German historical consciousness was in a crisis – recent history was associated with the most heinous crimes against humanity as well as with a crushing defeat, the 'deeper' past was either seen to have lead directly to Hitler and/or had been abused by the Nazis to support their racial ideology and policies. Present conditions seemed to be temporary/in transition and people were faced with pressing problems that required their full attention. The future of the German state and '*Volk*' was uncertain. As such it is not surprising that people spoke of the 'loss of history' (Alter 1992: 185-202; Betz 1997: 41; Faulenbach 1989: 77-9; Jeismann 2000: 126-8; Jeismann 1985: 17-22; Rohlfes 1988: 155; Wolfrum 2002: 58-9). This feeling was reinforced by a more general notion prevalent in many industrial societies at the time – history was seen to have become redundant, it had nothing valuable to add or give to the present. Instead, people turned to science, technology and social sciences for answers and explanations (Jeismann 2000: 127-8; Jeismann 1985: 18-9).

This rejection or absence of history was more characteristic of the private than of the public sphere. Since the 1950s, history (especially the most recent past) featured

heavily in the official historical consciousness – public attention focused very much on the moral wrong-doings of the Nazis, the seizure and establishment of power in the Third Reich as well as on the characteristics of the totalitarian regime. Questions of guilt and responsibility as well as signs of true remorse were, however, rare and continuities between the pre-1933 German nation-state and the Third Reich were seldom drawn (no connections were made between the ‘good’ Bismarck Reich and the ‘bad’ Third Reich) (Faulenbach 1989: 78; Jeismann 2000: 127; Rohlfes 1988: 1955). Such a view of the past perfectly matched the political climate of Cold War era as well as West German interests and allegiances in the early history of the FRG – the ‘demonisation’ of totalitarian states legitimised the opposition to the GDR and the whole of the Eastern Block (Faulenbach 1989: 78).

It is interesting to note that whereas people in the early years of the FRG tended to cling on to an essentially traditional view of national history (focus remained very much on the nation-state), the evaluation of the past was largely reversed. Events that had previously been interpreted as positive were now seen as being negative. This was accompanied by a call for a ‘return’ to ‘better’ traditions and a positive view of liberal and democratic movements in German history – freedom became a leitmotif in German historiography (Faulenbach 1989: 77-8; Wolfrum 2002: 82-5).

Finally, the drive for European integration and the increasing identification with Western Europe lead to a focus on European and especially ‘Occidental’ history. Again, this approach to the past fitted in well with the Cold War mentalities (note: this was especially prominent among Catholics) (Toepfer 1998: 165; McKay 1998: 154-5; Overesch 1989: 44-50; Wolfrum 2002: 84) – the ‘myth of the Occident’ became synonymous with the ‘free western Europe’ of the present which struggled against the totalitarian communist East (Wolfrum 2002: 84).

2.1.2. The FRG from the mid-1960s to 1990

2.1.2.1. Historical background

The mid 1960s to early 1970s are often seen as a turning point in the history of the FRG; significant changes took place in pretty much every aspect of life in West Germany. To summarise: in the mid-1960s Germany suffered from an economic recession which precipitated the collapse of the CDU government and forced the conservatives into grand coalition with the SPD. The policies of this new government as well as the fact that there now was virtually no opposition in the Bundestag, caused major uproar among the population – especially among students who formed what they called the ‘extra parliamentary opposition’. These internal political rifts went hand in hand with wider political movements and developments – in response to the Vietnam War, many people began to seriously question western values and the alliance with America. As a result Germans became much more politically active and involved; a left-wing movement was formed which greatly and lastingly shaped the political and intellectual landscape in West Germany (Fulbrook 1990: 211-8; Recker 2002: 46-105; Schulze 1996: 213-24; Winkler 2000: 243-640).

This general shift towards the left was reflected in the election results: after the collapse of the grand coalition in 1969 the FRG was, for the first time in its history, governed by an SPD/FDP coalition. In contrast to previous policies – and under enormous criticism from the CDU – the new government shelved (but did not abolish) their hopes for reunification of the two Germanies and instead tried to improve and ease the relationship between the two states. This so-called ‘*Ostpolitik*’ largely manifested itself in a series of treaties between the East and the West as well as in the formal recognition of the GDR as an independent state (not nation!). As a consequence both the FRG and the GDR became members of the United Nations (Fulbrook 1990: 211-8; Recker 2002: 46-105; Schulze 1996: 213-24; Winkler 2000: 243-640).

The mid-1970s and 1980s were marked by a series of economic crises and political conflicts between the government and the opposition in the Bundestag. The SPD and FDP coalition drifted more and more apart and eventually split in 1982. The succeeding government was formed by a CDU/FDP coalition. In the late 1970s and 1980s the left-wing movement was transformed but did not cease to exist in principle – opposition from the left was now expressed both violently in the form of terrorist attacks on leading politicians and business people in the FRG and peacefully in the form of the Green party which was founded in 1979 (Fulbrook 1990: 211-8; Recker 2002: 65-89).

2.1.2.2. National identity

The official position regarding German reunification, the nation and the definition of citizenship, as outlined in the 1949 constitution of the FRG, remained very stable over the years. However, the mid to late 1960s saw significant changes with regard to how these subjects were viewed and dealt with in the public life of the country: the rise of the left wing-movement and the transformation of the political and intellectual landscape in West Germany broke down the general consensus that had existed in the early years of the FRG – suddenly the German nation and national identity became the subject of fierce public debates and considerable rifts emerged between the different parties and interest groups (Jeismann 1985: 26-7; McKay 1998: 155).

The conservatives largely stuck to the position that had developed in the early years of the FRG and that was outlined in the constitution (the FRG was seen as the only legitimate heir of the German Reich and reunification represented an important goal which should not be jeopardised, even if it was not possible at the time. The status of the GDR as an independent state should, therefore, not be recognised). The SPD/FDP, on the other hand, grew increasingly wary of the balance between ethnic and civic elements of national identity – they warned against weakening or endangering the ‘civic nation’ and sense of ‘constitutional patriotism’ by clinging on to the concept of an ethnic German nation at a time when reunification seemed highly unlikely. According to this position, a secure and free state was more important than the unrealistic dreams of unification – in the words of Jeismann “*the civic nation is sufficient in itself, even if it does not encompass the ethnic nation*” (my translation Jeismann 1985: 228). The downside of this approach is that it was harsh on all of those Germans who suffered more severely from the consequences of the war than the citizens of the FRG and that it went against the wishes of many Germans on both sides of the Iron Curtain (Jeismann 1985: 228-9).

Outside the official party-politics, a third view of the German nation and national identity emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s. Many Germans (especially those belonging to the left-wing peace-movement) criticised the dependence on the two

superpowers. They wanted the two Germanies to 'break-free' from the American and Soviet sphere of influence and to become an independent, self-determined unified nation-state (Jeismann 1985: 229-30). Wolfrum refers to this movement as 'liberation-nationalism' (Wolfrum 2002: 124).

It is important to note that whilst these major public debates were going on, West Germans became more and more accustomed to the division of the two Germanies and gradually forgot about (or, at least, showed less and less interest in) the GDR (Staab 1998: 15). This manifested itself, for example, in the fact that 60% of the West German population agreed with the government's '*Ostpolitik*' and were willing to sacrifice the ethnic nation for a free and democratic civic nation (Wolfrum 2002: 90).

Finally, between the late 1960s and 1990, European integration was pushed forward and European identities continued to represent viable alternatives and/or to complement German national identity (Fulbrook 1999: 199-202; Winkler 2000: 243-640).

2.1.2.3. Historical consciousness

From the mid 1960s onwards people's and society's view of and relationship with the past changed dramatically – history became important, the heritage industry boomed and interpretations of the past were highly contested and fought over; there was much debate about the place and the role of history in the present as well as about the nature and the content of national historical narratives (Faulenbach 1989: 79-92; Jeismann 2000: 128-35; Jeismann 1985: 229-31; Rohlfes 1988: 160-1; Wolfrum 2002: 86-131). This newfound concern with the past indicates a change in/healing of the German historical consciousness: the FRG gradually became an established state (especially in the light of the '*Ostpolitik*') – it stopped being regarded merely as a temporary solution designed to tide people over until the reunification of the two Germanies. This more permanent and secure position in the world forced people to define themselves in the present and opened-up perspectives for the future; both of which require knowledge of and concern with the past. Furthermore, the past itself became more manageable and less uncomfortable and traumatic – almost two decades had passed since the end of the

war; enough time to re-build the country, deal with the existential problems and enough time to be able to reflect upon what had actually happened.

Generally, it is possible to distinguish between two main approaches to the past (largely informed by different views of national identity): 'emancipation' and 'identification'.

Emancipation

This approach to German history was characteristic of the SPD/FDP rhetoric at the time of the '*Ostpolitik*' (and subsequent years). German history was viewed in a critical light – the German nation was believed to have come off the 'right path' very early on in its history and the Third Reich was seen to be a direct consequence of earlier developments. It was argued that in order to remedy the situation, to steer Germany off this 'wrong' course and to prevent similar 'mistakes' from happening again, it was important to identify what exactly had gone wrong and to eliminate these factors. Definitions of 'right' and 'wrong' were largely based on comparisons with the history of western nation-states. Generally, it can be said that the source of 'evil' was seen to be the authoritative style of leadership in German national history; the fact that the foundation of German nation had not been initiated by the people but was imposed from above through 'blood and iron'. According to this view, unity and freedom had never actually gone hand in hand in German history. Consequently, it was argued that Germans should let go of the traditional concept of the German nation-state, commit themselves to freedom and democracy and accept the fact that the FRG and the GDR would not be reunited in the near future (Faulenbach 1989: 79-89; Jeismann 2000: 132; Wolfrum 2002: 86-95).

This new approach to German national identity and history required a very different historical narrative than the more traditional position prevalent in the 1950s and early 1960s – the focus needed to be shifted away from national-bourgeois history to the history of the democratic forces and liberty movements in the German past; events which had, up to now, been almost exclusively 'claimed' by GDR historiography (needless to say that the politicians in the GDR were not impressed by this West German 'theft' of their traditions). It was argued that the constitution of the FRG

should be portrayed as being rooted in German history itself and not as something which had been forced upon the country by outsiders after the war. This view of history led to an extremely selective approach to the past – only those events and movements in German (and European) history which fitted in with, were relevant to and supported the current political and ideological/value system in the FRG, and its integration in the western world, were incorporated in the national narrative (Faulenbach 1989: 79-89; Jeismann 2000: 132; Wolfrum 2002: 86-95).

Identification

The conservatives argued for a different approach – they were in favour of a *“normative view of national history which would counteract the disintegration of society by demonstrating unity and providing clear structures”* (my translation: Wolfrum 2002: 126). Jeismann elaborates: *“The identification approach to the interpretation of history also supports the ideological and institutional foundations of the Federal Republic of Germany – not so much as the starting point in a continuous process of development, but rather as fixed achievements which should be maintained in their present state. From this perspective, the success story of the FRG allows the history of the German nation to be cast in a more generous light. The growth in the new state's importance and self-confidence is marked by a parallel growth in positive historical potential – awareness of its historical independence leading to renewed acceptance for national-liberal and conservative lines of tradition which had been so damningly discredited between 1933 and 1945. The idea that 'We're playing with the big boys again!' corresponds to the notion that 'Well, we used to be one of the big boys!' The uncompromising rejection of the National Socialist era means that anyone viewing history from this perspective will be subject to an increased urge to play down the significance of those years by placing them in the total context of German history [...]. Where Heinemann – in his capacity as Bundespräsident – had called for specific democratic traditions in German history to be presented normatively, Scheel and Carstens – speaking in the same capacity – emphatically stated that Germans should take pride in the entire history of their country – a clear example of opposing approaches to the reception of German history”* (my translation: Jeismann 2000: 133).

Identity and orientation also represented important themes outside the main party/political landscape – for example, many members of the peace-movement argued that history should be used to ‘break-away’ from the Soviet and American sphere of influence and help to find and ‘heal’ the identity of the ‘broken German nation’. Furthermore, many people took comfort in the past at a time when people in industrial societies all over the world became increasingly weary of the technological progress and disillusioned with ‘modern’ ways of life. The past offered comfort and reassurance when the future seemed unpredictable and bleak (Westle 1999: 56-8; Wolfrum 2002: 128).

2.2. East Germany/the German Democratic Republic (GDR): 1945 to 1990

2.2.1. The early years: East Germany/the GDR from 1945 to the early 1970s

2.2.1.1. Historical background

To summarise some of the key developments in the first two and a half decades of post-war East German history: The German Democratic Republic was founded on the territory of the Soviet Occupational Zone in 1949 (shortly after the FRG). From the very beginning the new state was very much influenced by the Soviet Union and over the years the GDR became firmly integrated into the Eastern Block. The political system that emerged in the East was essentially a one-party rule/democracy dominated by the 'Socialist Unity Party' (SED) which had been (more or less voluntarily) formed in the immediate post-war period and consisted of the former KPD (Communist Party) and SPD (Social Democrat Party). Unlike in the West, the provinces were abolished shortly after the foundation of the GDR; the country was divided into 14 administrative units ('*Bezirke*') but was essentially governed centrally from Berlin. In the early years of the GDR several socialist economic and land reforms were introduced – these initially led to food and supply shortages; much to the dissatisfaction of the population (Fulbrook 1990: 204-11; Fulbrook 2002: 107-179; Winkler 2000: 116-42).

This leads on to another point, the socialist state and/or its policies and reforms were rejected by many GDR citizens; open resistance, however, remained minimal. Opposition mainly manifested itself in the uprising of 1953 (which was brought down quickly by Soviet tanks and by the GDR police force) as well as in the continuous migration to the West. In 1961 the government put an end to this 'brain drain' which had caused serious problems for the economy by the building of the Berlin Wall (Fulbrook 1990: 204-11; Fulbrook 2002: 107-179; Winkler 2000: 116-42).

2.2.1.2. National Identity

The first constitution of the GDR resembled its West German counterpart in the sense that it held on to the concept of one all-German nation and claimed to speak for the whole German ‘*Volk*’ (Fulbrook 1999: 188; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 4). The SED saw itself as the “*defender of the unity of the German nation, and accused western imperialists of trying to destroy it*” (McKay 1998: 149). At the same time political ideology played an important role in defining the nature of public national identity in the GDR. The East German state legitimised itself on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology; the fundamental and all-encompassing truth of which was never doubted or questioned (Neuner 2000: 292-3; Staab 1998: 18; Szalai 1993: 66-7). Particularly in the early years, great efforts were made to transform the German nation on the basis of this ideology and to establish a fairer, truly anti-fascist and equal German state (Fulbrook 1999: 237). It was believed that West Germans – especially the working classes – would soon realise the superiority of the GDR and strive for unification under socialist leadership (Staab 1998: 131). In other words, in common with the FRG, the GDR valued its political ideology and form of socio-economic organisation more highly than the unification of the German people but, at the same time, maintained the concept of the all-German nation.

The official position regarding the German nation and national identity began to change slightly in the early 1960s when “*it had become increasingly obvious that the SED had overestimated the appeal of the GDR – not just to the citizens of the other German state, but also to its own population, and in spite of the leadership’s all-German words, its deeds, such as building the Berlin Wall, appeared to cement the division between the two German states. Consequently, the SED needed an argument to prove that socialism and national unity were compatible. The result [...] was that the nation was at two different stages of development in the two German states – united in the GDR, but still class-divided in the Federal Republic. Furthermore, in spite of the political division, it was claimed that the national bond was preserved by the unity of the German working class in both German states, who together constituted the nation. Using this argument, the SED could still portray itself as a national party with national, i.e. all-German objectives, and that the GDR was the model for a unified German state, though ‘national’ was used to mean the ‘entire German working class’*” (McKay 1998: 149).

These minor modifications were incorporated in the new 1968 constitution. Fulbrook summarises the key points with regard to German national identity as follows: *“There was, however, no real change with respect to the issue of German-ness. According to the 1968 constitution, the GDR was ‘a socialist state of the German nation’, and it was ‘imperialism under the leadership of the USA in conjunction with the West German monopoly capitalist circles’ that had divided Germany ‘in order to build up West Germany as a basis of imperialism and the struggle against socialism, in contradiction to the vital interests of the nation’. The GDR was now constitutionally committed to ‘overcoming the division of Germany which had been imposed on the German nation by imperialism’ and to the ‘step-by-step rapprochement of the two German states up to their unification on the basis of democracy and socialism’”* (Fulbrook 1999: 190).

It is important to note that the SED’s view of national identity encompassed/was intertwined with the concept of ‘proletarian internationalism’ – which was seen to not only keep national identity ‘in check’ and to prevent it from turning into fierce and aggressive/bourgeois nationalism and imperialism, but was also welcomed as it was believed to foster solidarity and friendship with other socialist countries and ‘progressive forces’ all over the world (McKay 1998: 147; Toepfer 1998: 172).

There is little data on ‘private’ notions of national identity in the early years of the East German state. However, generally it can be said that large sectors of the population were not convinced by the official approach to the German question and national identity (McKay 1998: 147-53; Staab 1998: 17, 132; Wolfrum 2002: 96-7). The SED largely failed to persuade its citizens of the GDR’s legitimacy. There are two main reasons for this: first, there were considerable discrepancies between the original intentions and promises of the GDR leadership and the reality of life in East Germany (Fulbrook 1999: 237); second, the position of the GDR was significantly weakened by the existence of the FRG – another, much bigger and more affluent German state which granted citizenship to all Germans (McKay 1999: 3, 147-8).

2.2.1.3. Historical consciousness

A very different historical consciousness developed in East Germany than in the FRG. Although the particularities of historical narratives changed over time (see below), the general approach to the past and the official historical narratives remained relatively stable over the years – to outline some of the key characteristics:

Unlike its West German counterpart, the GDR completely distanced itself from the Nazi past – the leaders of the new state had genuinely opposed/fought National Socialism and had suffered under the regime. They committed themselves to the establishment of a truly anti-fascist state and society. The communists officially invited the citizens of the GDR to share (and identify with) this anti-fascist heritage (Fulbrook 1999: 28-35, 135-9 and 2000: 186; Krisch 1999: 35-8). This was “*highly effective in developing and sustaining an official historical consciousness free of collective shame*” (Fulbrook 1999: 35). In other words, history could – at least officially – be used in a much more affirmative manner than in the West where people found it more difficult to come to terms with and deal with the Nazi past. In the private sphere things were not as simple – especially in the first two decades when the official ‘anti-fascist myth’ often clashed with personal memories and experiences (Fulbrook 1999: 234) which made it difficult for people to ‘buy into’ the official historical consciousness and weakened the credibility of the official position.

This ‘guilt-free’ approach to the past allowed the political leaders of the GDR to more openly use history in order to legitimise their new state, its ideology and policies as well as to forcefully promote a certain historical and political consciousness and identity (Fulbrook 1999: 129; Jeismann 2000: 165-6; Szalai 1993: 70-1; Wolfrum 2002: 75-6). As such it is not surprising to find that official historical narratives were widely communicated to people – for example, the past was celebrated and commemorated in numerous remembrance days, official symbols, memorials and rituals (Szalai 1993: 86; Wolfrum 2002: 75-6; Fulbrook 1999: 79-103).

As outlined in Chapter 1, interpretations and presentations of the past are constructed in ways which match present circumstances and needs – during the whole existence of the GDR, historical narratives largely stuck to the same pattern; the parameter of historiography changed very little. To elaborate on some of the main features:

1. Much weight was placed on national history (Jeismann 2000: 165-6). This was necessary in order to justify the existence of the GDR and support the political ideology – especially in the presence of the FRG.
2. The GDR was viewed in the context of the history of other socialist countries; a necessity at the time of the Cold War when East Germany was dependent on the alliance with the Soviet Union and tried to distinguish itself from its West German counterpart (Jeismann 2000: 165-6).
3. National history was presented within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress (Jeismann 2000: 165-6). In Marxism-Leninism “*history is understood as a progressive series of transformations through universal and hierarchically defined stages*” (Nimni 1991: 6). According to this view, all human societies pass through a series of different ‘pre-determined’ stages: from primeval society to class society, to slave-holding society, to feudalism, to capitalism and eventually to socialism/communism (which is considered the highest and final stage in history). Historical progress is thought to be brought about both by technological developments and changes in the means of production as well as by class-struggle (Dorpalen 1985: 24-46; Engels and Marx 1845/6(1969): 28-36; Nimni 1991: 6-14; Szalai 1993: 71). Jeismann argues that such a deterministic view of history was necessary in order to justify the existence of the GDR, to legitimise its ideology and the political and socio-economic reforms – the GDR (as part of the socialist world system) was dependent on an interpretation of the past which portrayed it as the genuinely progressive German state, as the only possible and just outcome of history. Furthermore, it relied on a model of historical progress which portrayed socialism as an inevitability which would sooner or later become reality everywhere in the world (including the FRG) (Jeismann 2000: 165-6).
4. In accordance with the socialist ideology, there was no separation between science (‘*Wissenschaft*’) and bias (‘*Parteilichkeit*’) – the two were closely connected and belonged together (Gies 1989: 618; Szalai 1993: 66-8 and 1995: 38-9; Wolfrum 2002: 76). As a result, official historical narratives in the GDR tended to offer black and white interpretations of the past – they painted a picture of heroes and villains

(Fulbrook 1999: 135-9) and often used very emotive language (speaking of 'love' and 'hatred') to reinforce these evaluations (Szalai 1993: 85-6).

Having outlined some of the fundamental properties of East German historiography, it is necessary to briefly explore some of the features particular to official national historical narratives produced in early years of GDR history: whilst the SED held on to the concept of one all-German nation, it legitimised its existence on the basis of the so-called '*Zwei-Linien Geschichtsbild*' ('Two-line-Geschichtsbild'). According to this view, the GDR was the heir (or, better, the result) of all of the positive and progressive traditions and forces in German history; the FRG, on the other hand, had inherited and stood for all of the negative and reactionary traditions. In other words, GDR historiography was very selective – national historical narratives were based on revolutions, liberation-movements, progressive reforms (as manifestations of social progress) and the history of the working classes. Furthermore, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress, the foundation of the GDR was portrayed as the greatest and most significant event in German history – the penultimate step before the realisation of communism. In the eyes of GDR historians, the FRG had not yet reached this stage and was not as far advanced as the East German state – West Germany was still enmeshed in the evils of capitalism and imperialism. As mentioned above, it was believed that the re-unification of Germany would eventually – and inevitably (as subject to universal laws of history) – take place under socialist leadership (Jeismann 1985: 222-3; Lau 1982: 64; Mätzing 2000: 473). It was argued that *"to overcome the division of the ethnic nation, the class-nation would have to be newly formed. The real opponents of German unification are those who prevent the emergence of the all-German class-nation"* (Jeismann 1985: 222-3).

There was very little room for debate and criticism of these official interpretations of the past – historical narratives in the GDR were very much controlled by those in power. Unlike in the West where history was highly contested and fought over, in East Germany there only existed one valid version of the past at any one time (Fulbrook 1999: 129; Mätzing 2000: 473; Wolfrum 2002: 71). As such, it is difficult to establish how people actually felt about the past and to gain an understanding of the private historical consciousness. However, in the light of the fact that many people remained

sceptical towards the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the political system in the GDR, it can be presumed that the private and public views of the past and historical consciousness also diverged to some extent.

2.2.2. The GDR from the early 1970s to the 1990

2.2.2.1. Historical background

In the early 1970s Walter Ulbricht, who had been the acting 'political leader' since the foundation of the GDR, was replaced by Erich Honecker. In terms of internal politics, the Honecker-era is marked by a very short-lived 'liberalisation' of the 'cultural policies' as well as by the 're-centralisation' the economy. Foreign affairs in the 1970s and 1980s can be summarised as follows: the GDR maintained very close relations with the Soviet Union and policies often mirrored and/or were designed to fit in with developments in Moscow. The period is also characterised by the rapprochement between the two German states in the light of the FRG's '*Ostpolitik*' and both states became full members of the United Nations. In this context it is worth noting that the GDR became increasingly financially reliant on the West.

The very late 1980s are especially significant – they saw the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The future of the GDR and the German nation was hotly debated as the physical barrier between the East and the West broke down and enormous numbers of East Germans fled to/visited the West and protested in streets proclaiming 'We are the *Volk*' and later 'We are one *Volk*'. In the end the reunification-argument prevailed and the East and the West were merged into one state in October 1990 (Fulbrook 2002: 160-284; Ross 2002: 126-48; Winkler 2000: 116-42).

2.2.2.2. National identity

The SED's approach to the German nation changed drastically in the early 1970s, a development which is especially visible in the wording of the new constitution which was passed in 1974: the notion of one all-German nation was abolished and it was

argued that two independent German nations had evolved over the years: a capitalist nation in the West and Socialist nation in the East. The GDR was no longer described as a 'German' state or nation but was officially defined as the 'socialist state of workers and peasants'. This new idea of a 'non-German' nation also manifested itself in other areas – for example, the lyrics to the national anthem ('*Deutschland einig Vaterland*') were no longer sung and all references to the German unification were eliminated from the constitution (Fulbrook 1999: 20; Jeismann 2000: 160; Jeismann 1985: 223; McKay 1998: 149-51; Staab 1998: 131; Toepfer 1998: 171; Wolfrum 2002: 99-103).

The GDR leadership placed great emphasis on theoretically reinforcing these changes in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist ideology as well as on drawing clear distinctions between the FRG and the GDR and defining the relationship between them. In 1975 party theorists "*first made the distinction between nation, nationality and citizenship [...] They argued that according to class-based criteria, a socialist nation did indeed exist in the GDR, but this did not alter the fact that the majority of the population were of German nationality. In other words, while people were citizens of the GDR and therefore members of the socialist nation, their nationality remained German [...]. As a result, ethnic factors shared with West Germans could be classed as aspects of nationality, and therefore of secondary importance to the nation, which was determined by class*" (McKay 1998: 151). Fulbrook suggests that this reflects a deeply ingrained essentialist view of nationalism and the ethnic nation, "*a firm belief in the reality of a persisting ethnic-cultural group, the Germans, now simply redefined as 'nationality' rather than 'nation', which, meanwhile, has been redefined to mean, essentially, citizenship*" (Fulbrook 1999: 191).

There are several reasons for this change in approach. First, as already indicated above, the GDR suffered from serious problems in legitimising itself in the presence of the FRG; it was very aware of the fact that it represented the smaller part of the divided ethnic and cultural nation. It was realised that the GDR would continue having these difficulties as long as the population held on to the idea of one all-German nation. The new approach can, therefore, be understood as a conscious attempt to break away from the concept of the ethnic nation and as an initiative to promote a strong sense GDR identity and to forge loyalty and commitment to the state and its ideology (Jeismann 1985: 223).

Second, from the very beginning the GDR struggled to gain international recognition. The ‘*Ostpolitik*’ of the Social/Liberal government in the FRG seemed to endanger these ambitions further and forced the SED to take action: “*The final catalyst for change was Brandt’s new approach to relations with the GDR, based on the notion that there were ‘two states of one nation’, that nation being sustained by a ‘feeling of shared belonging together’ shared by the populations of both German states. Because Brandt would not grant full recognition of the GDR as a foreign country for this reason, the SED needed to prove his notion of the ‘two states one nation’ wrong, if they were to achieve their primary objective of international recognition of the GDR. The fact that both Brandt and his ideas were so warmly received by the East German population made clarification of the SED’s position regarding the state of the nation a matter of urgency*” (McKay 1998: 149-50).

Third, in the 1970s the Soviet Union had an interest in building very close relationships with its allies; it wished to stand as a strong and solid block in the climate of relative relaxation in East-West relations. East Germany’s ‘special status’ with regard to the ‘national-question’ was seen to directly conflict with these ambitions – the GDR was thus strongly encouraged to abolish the concept of an all-German nation in favour of a greater orientation towards the socialist world system. The SED leadership responded not only by changing its approach to the German nation but also by making its alliance with the Soviet Union constitutional. As a result, ‘socialist patriotism’ and ‘international proletarianism’ became more firmly integrated into the GDR’s self-understanding and reinforced the separation from the FRG (Wolfrum 2002: 100-3).

Finally, it is important to briefly explore the impact of these changes on the private sphere. Essentially, people were asked to drastically change their sense of national identity on the basis of political interests and rather abstract theoretical concepts. There is consensus among the majority of scholars that this did not happen; neither the citizens of the GDR nor the FRG were convinced by the SED’s new approach to the nation and their theoretical explanations of why such a change was necessary (Fulbrook 1999: 191-2; McKay 1998: 145-8; Staab 1998: 132; Wolfrum 2002: 102, 132).

However, despite the fact that the political leadership largely failed to forge a strong sense of socialist GDR identity, it is important to note that the population gradually developed a distinctly East German identity. This private sense of identity was largely based on people's day-to-day experiences of living in the GDR (Fulbrook 1999: 192-211; McKay 1998: 152-3). Sommer summarises as follows: *"Indeed, such a sense of identification with one's country is beginning to emerge in the GDR. Many of the people I spoke to – even critics of the regime – spoke quite unselfconsciously about 'their republic'. [...] There is a ready psychological explanation for this phenomenon: the majority of people do not remain openly defiant to or try to resist the system they live under for ever; they accept the world around them if this world seems to be unalterable. The people in the GDR are not likely to laugh at or mock the things they have accomplished in the face of all manner of external and internal difficulties – these are, after all, their own achievements. This sense of pride in having helped to create something therefore leads first of all to identification and then to acceptance. Their acceptance of the system they live under does not, however, make them communists – this they are not and never will be. But their isolated existence has led over the years to many of them becoming rather aloof towards the Western system. They envy much about the West, but have no wish to imitate it wholesale"* (my translation: Sommer in Wolfrum 2002: 96).

Generally, it can be said that this separate East German identity often went hand-in-hand with an all-German ethnic identity, a strong interest in the FRG and a desire for the eventual reunification of the two German states (Fulbrook 1999: 180; Staab 1998: 17; Wolfrum 2002: 132). It is, however, important to understand that although this notion of an all-German identity among the GDR population made possible/supported the unification of East and West Germany, it did not initiate the processes itself – the unification was 'kick-started' by wider political developments (Fulbrook 1999: 192; McKay 1998: 145-6).

2.2.2.3. Historical consciousness

In essence the historical consciousness changed very little since the foundation of the GDR; the parameters of historiography remained largely the same. It is, however, important to note that the content of the public historical narratives was modified significantly in the 1970s in order to fit in with the government's new approach to the 'national-question'. The overarching goal was to change people's feelings for the state, to generate a notion of GDR national identity and, by extension, to overcome the GDR's problems of legitimising itself in the presence of the FRG. History was very deliberately used to support these ambitions – as an independent nation the GDR required an all-encompassing 'full' national history; it was no longer enough to limit the national narrative to a small number of carefully selected events, more substance was needed. Consequently, the '*Zwei-Linien*'-approach was rejected and the national narrative was 'opened-up' to the whole of the German past (including 'bourgeois' history) (Fulbrook 1999: 20, 31, 89-90; Jeismann 2000: 160-1, 180; Jesimann 1985: 224; Mätzing 2000: 467-9; Szalai 1993: 72).

This change in approach to national history led to the peculiar situation where both German states constructed their 'separate' national narratives from exactly the same 'material'/information. In an attempt to separate the two national narratives and to clearly set itself apart from the West, GDR historiography differentiated between 'heritage' and 'tradition'. According to this view, 'heritage' consisted of the whole of German history and 'tradition' only of those events with which the GDR identified, those which supported the state and its ideology. It is interesting to note that this approach to the past greatly favoured political history – marginalizing 'social history' which had become established in the past decades (Mätzing 2000: 467-9).

The new approach to the past was backed-up theoretically; it was argued that only shared, immediately experienced history of the current generation directly creates a sense of national identity and belonging. Past history, however, can only do so – only becomes part of people's realities – in form/by means of interpretations (or as Jeismann puts it – '*Geschichtsbilder*'). Consequently, theorists proposed that German history had to be re-written from a GDR perspective, that the GDR should create its own national history that was different from that of the FRG (although based on the same traditions). They suggested that two national histories – one reactionary FRG history and one progressive GDR history – would exist side by side and encourage the development of

affiliations with the respective state (Jeismann 2000: 161). The weakness of this argument lies in the fact that there are and always have been many different interpretations of the past – historical narratives cannot simply be divided into socialist and capitalist views of the past. *"The history of the German nation – in all its manifold, diverse, and controversial interpretations – will remain a common heritage. Anyone claiming a share of/delving into this common heritage can define the German nation in any way he chooses – but he will never escape it"* (my translation Jeismann 2000: 161-2).

Additionally, it worth noting that the history of other socialist countries – especially the USSR – continued to play an important role in East German historiography (Wolfrum 2002: 102-3).

Generally, it can be said that official attempts to generate a sense of GDR-national identity through the use of history were largely unsuccessful and that the decision to adopt an all-encompassing approach to national history back-fired – by looking back on the whole of German history, people re-discovered links and commonalities with their neighbours in the West (Fulbrook 1999: 92; Wolfrum 2002: 128-31). However, at the same time, it has been suggested that certain structures and core characteristics of the official GDR historical consciousness were adopted by the population – for example, research has shown that many East Germans have an uncritical approach to history and have a tendency to think about the past (and the present) in terms of 'good' and 'bad', 'friend' and 'foe' (Szalai 1993: 89-91).

2.3. Re-unified Germany: 1990 to 2000

2.3.1. Historical background

The unification of the two German states was very much dominated by the West – the territory of the former GDR was essentially incorporated into the FRG. Unification enormously and fundamentally changed the social, political and economic structure and organisation of East Germany – changes were all-encompassing and ranged from the transformation of the education system, the introduction of a social-market economy, the re-organisation of the country into five provinces (*‘Bundesländer’*) and the introduction of a representative democracy to the reconstruction of the infrastructure. Furthermore, Western products swept onto the East German market, people were free to travel anywhere they liked (and could afford) and censorship and restrictions on their freedom of speech were lifted. However, East Germans increasingly felt the downsides of unification: almost every aspect of their lives and culture was transformed and ‘Westernised’; many people felt ‘colonised’ by the West and large numbers of workers were made redundant in the process of restructuring the economy. Unemployment figures were/are much higher than in the West (this is especially difficult to cope with as there had been zero unemployment in GDR times) – leading to a continuous migration/‘brain-drain’ and posing serious problems for many communities (Dann 1993: 365-86; Fulbrook 1990: 241-9; Fulbrook 2002: 279-82; Winkler 2000: 489-657).

Reunification also affected people in the West – the East German economy did not recover as quickly as hoped and promised, and people in the old-FRG felt increasingly annoyed with the financial strain. Furthermore, the political landscape changed considerably – the left-wing PDS (*‘Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus’*)/later *‘Linkspartei’* was very popular with East German voters and thus, for the first time in the history of the FRG, a party left of the SPD held an important place in both the Bundestag and Bundesrat (Fulbrook 1990: 241-9; Fulbrook 2002: 279-82; Winkler 2000: 489-657).

Until 1998 Germany was governed by a CDU/FDP coalition which was replaced in 1998 by a Social Democrat/Green government. Since 2005 Germany is governed by a grand coalition (CDU/SPD). Finally, it is worth mentioning that European integration continued in years after the unification – for example, Germany adopted the single European currency in 1999/2002 (Zollig 2006: 342-65; Pocket Zeitgeschichte 2007: 115-33).

2.3.2. National identity

The re-unification was possible because the concept of one all-German nation survived the 40 years of separation – in the private sphere in East Germany and in the public sphere (the constitution) in West Germany. However, at the same time, the people in both parts of Germany gradually drifted apart: as time went on, West Germans showed less and less interest in East Germany and many people developed a firm sense of ‘civic’ identity. Citizens of the GDR, on the other hand, remained very interested in the West (and, for example, watched West German television with great enthusiasm) and, simultaneously, developed a strong sense of East German identity – not based on official policies but on shared life-experiences. These separate East and West German identities were re-enforced in the process of unification which was experienced quite differently on either of the former border (Betz 1997: 55-6; Fulbrook 1999: 18-21 and 211-37, 1997: 176, 2000: 188; Jarausch 1997a: 19; Szalai 1993: 89-90; Staab 1998: 6-19; Welsch et al. 1997: 103-36).

It is important to stress that the existence of strong regional, East/West, identities does not actually conflict with or seriously endanger the all-German identity or, in fact, the German state. There are three main reasons for this: first, it can be assumed that the enormous rift between East Germans and West Germans is temporary – as time passes, differences will become smaller, the next generation will not have experienced or remember the pre-unification era and people will share similar memories and experiences. Second, the concept of regional loyalties and strong local identities is not new to Germany; the country has a long tradition of federalism – so much so that one could argue that German national identity naturally accommodates/encourages provincial identities. Third, the concept and nature of national identities is being

transformed and challenged in the face of increasing European integration – things need to change, people need to adapt to and deal with new circumstances and hence cannot simply retain old forms/patterns of identification (Fulbrook 2002: 281; Jarausch 1997a: 20; Welsch, Pickel and Rosenberg 1997:113-4, 122).

Finally, it is important to mention that initially many people in Germany and abroad were worried that the unification would unleash, once again, a fierce German ethnic/racial nationalism – especially in the light of a number of attacks on foreigners and asylum seekers in both East and West Germany. However, in the 1990s these fears turned out to be largely unsubstantiated (Fulbrook 2002: 281; Wolfrum 2002: 131-9): *the “splutterings of racial violence appeared to have more to do with social dislocation in the new circumstances of the 1990s, accompanied by a general rise of violent crimes in the East, than with the resurrection of older nationalism, let alone the state-ordained nationalism characteristic of the pre-1945 period. Moreover, despite deep divisions over questions of immigration and citizenship entitlement, in the course of the 1990s the Federal Republic altered its citizenship laws in order to deal more adequately with both the long-standing German-born ‘foreigner’ population and the greatly increased numbers of would-be immigrants in a changed European context”* (Fulbrook 2002: 281). Generally, it can be said that the reunification process and its aftermath remained largely free of ethnic markers and rhetoric (Staab 1998: 129).

2.3.3. Historical Consciousness

The reunification sparked much debate about recent German history – how were the Germans to deal with GDR history? Who should be allowed to write the history of the GDR? How would and should Germans address their divided memory and divided ‘guilt’? Furthermore, questions and controversies about the National Socialist period were once again very much on top of the agenda: topics such as the moral implications of German re-unification and Goldhagen’s book ‘Hitler’s willing Executioners’ initiated new debates about German ‘guilt’ and how the country should deal with its Nazi past (Fulbrook 2002: 280-1; Fulbrook 1997; Jarausch 1997a: 11; Wolfrum 2002: 131-9).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that 40 years of separation and 40 years of being subjected to very different historical narratives, led to a largely divided historical consciousness and relationship with history – research showed that East and West Germans had very different views especially of the recent past (Fulbrook 1999: 176-7; Wolfrum 2002: 138).

Part Two: The Public Sphere

Chapter 3

Sources for Public Notions of Historical Consciousness and National Identity: Educational Media and the Context in which they are Produced and Used

Public/official historical consciousness and national identity are expressed and displayed in many different ways and in a range of different media – such as museum exhibitions, national remembrance days, state-owned/censored publications etc.. As it is impossible to include all of these in a systematic analysis, it was decided to limit the scope of the thesis by concentrating exclusively on history curricula and schoolbooks. Educational media were chosen because they represent a particularly comprehensive source for the official historical consciousness and national identity – they can be seen as socio-political artefacts which reveal much about a society's official perception of itself and others. The following chapter explores the reasons for this in more detail; it discusses the nature of these sources and the context in which they are used.

3.1. Public education: an introduction

3.1.1. The role of public education: education, society and the nation-state

In order to be able to understand and interpret representations of the past in educational media, one must be aware of how curricula and schoolbooks fit into the education system and how this is linked, in turn, to wider socio-political conditions and developments. Schoolbooks and curricula cannot be treated as historical sources in their own right; they are mainly educational tools and, as such, are produced in a very specific social context with a set of very clear aims in mind. Several scholars have especially highlighted the impact of nationalism and ‘national politics’ on public education in general and on educational media in particular (Schleicher 1993a: 24-7; Schleicher 1993b: 329; Soysal and Schissler 2005: 1; Wenning 1996: 7-12).

In order to better understand the relationship between education/educational media and nationalism/the nation-state, it is necessary look in some detail at the functions public education fulfils in society. Wenning identifies a number of key functions:

- **Reproduction within the realms of socialisation:** According to Wenning the education system contributes to, and aims for, the “*constant reproduction of the current conditions of society*” (Wenning 1996: 93). The purpose of the education system is to pass on a set of values and norms (reflected and accompanied by certain actions and behaviours) to the next generation so that they will be able to maintain the social system; to prepare children for their lives in society and, at the same time, ensure the survival of the prevalent social system (Wenning 1996: 93). According to Wenning key ‘contents of socialisation’ include a common language, a set of shared symbols, values and norms, common strategies to deal with the social environment (Wenning 1996: 93) and, it is argued here, a common historical consciousness (in terms of structure and content).

- **Qualification:** Not everyone in society is required or expected to have exactly the same skills and knowledge; the education system needs to prepare and train people for different jobs and functions (Wenning 1996: 93-4).
- **Cultural transmission:** Cultural transmission is an important factor in the creation and the development of a coherent and common cultural identity among the members of a certain generation. As such, it initiates and directs social progress (Wenning 1996: 95).
- **Legitimisation and Integration:** In order to preserve the prevailing power structure and social order (see 'reproduction-function'), the education system needs to convince the 'next' generation of prevalent norms, values and practices; it needs to generate loyalty toward and identification with the socio-political order (Wenning 1996: 95-6). It is important to note that literature, history and social studies lend themselves more easily to the 'legitimisation' and 'integration' functions than other subjects (Wenning 1996: 95-6).

Finally, it is important to note that the connection between the nation-state, society and the education system is not a one-way relationship. The nation-state/society cannot simply dictate the content of public education in order to ensure that the system adequately fulfils the stabilising/reproductive functions as outlined above; instead the relationship is reflexive and intertwined. Wenning argues that the educational sub-system fulfils fundamental functions for the whole of the social system, that the social system could not function/be maintained without a public education system. This is because the institutionalisation of education guarantees a continuous, stable and predictable social development. However, at the same time, the educational sub-system is not independent, it is bound to and shaped by the wider social system within which it operates – prevalent/existing laws, values and institutions provide a 'skeleton' or a 'corset' for the educational sub-system. (Wenning 1996: 95-6). How exactly the relationship between the state and the education system is organised and how this manifests itself depends on the specific context; on the established educational traditions, the nature of the nation-state, the political situation and the prevalent political ideology (Mitter 1995: 1-2; Wollersheim et al. 2002: 8-9).

3.1.2. Educational Media

In order to determine the extent to which curricula and schoolbooks represent ‘public’/‘official’ views, it is necessary to understand the factors that impact on their production, as well as to consider the contexts in which they are used and the effect they may have on students. This section focuses on some points relevant to educational media in general; the particularities of the German situation are discussed in more detail in section 3.2..

3.1.2.1. Factors influencing the content and the production of schoolbooks and curricula

Three main factors impact on schoolbook and curriculum production:

1. Social and political factors:

The education system is funded and organised by nation-states which, as we have seen above, have an interest in maintaining prevalent political and social structures (note: the aim to preserve the social and political order does not exclude a desire to improve certain conditions – ‘our children should do better than us’ – Herzfeld 1960: 18). As such, nation-states need to make sure that the messages communicated in schoolbooks and curricula are supportive of the system in place; educational media have to enthuse and convince students both of and for the nation-state, its associated ideology and policies, so that they become loyal and committed citizens. It has therefore often been argued that schoolbooks and curricula represent ‘national traditions’; bodies of canonised knowledge which schoolbook and curriculum producers consider to be key to the survival of their society or nation (Berghahn and Schissler 1987: 1-2; Fröhlich 1992: 395; Höpken 2003: 10; Jacobmeyer 1992: 377-8; Jacobmeyer 2002: 123-4; Kolouri 2001: 15-6; Pingel 1999: 7-8; Rüsen 1998: 1-2; Schissler 1985: 94; Soysal and Schissler 2005: 2-7; Soysal 2000: 130; Vollstädt et al. 1999: 12). For this reason they have been referred to as ‘national

autobiographies' (Jacobmeyer 1992: 375) or 'national safes' (Jeismann 1985: 191). It is important to ask in each specific context who the curriculum and schoolbook producers are, and to what extent they are influenced by political guidelines and/or public discourse (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991: 4-5; Hopmann and Künzli 1998: 27-8; Slater 1992: 14-5).

Social factors – aside from politics and notions of nationalism and citizenship – also have an impact on the content of educational media. For example, economic reasons may determine the canon of subjects in the curriculum (Bennack 1994: XVIII) – in times of severe labour shortage, education may focus on science subjects for instance (depending on the demands of the economy/labour-market at the time).

Interests and biases of authors and publishers also impact on the content of educational media: textbook authors are not free from biases; they are influenced by the prevalent social, economic, cultural and political realities in which they live and work (Wollersheim et al. 2002: 8-9). For example, FitzGerald has shown that American textbook authors filter the *Zeitgeist* so their views, values and interpretations presented in the schoolbooks are often very much in agreement with the views prevalent in society at the time of their writing (FitzGerald 1979; Jacobmeyer 1992: 376). Additionally, depending on the system in place, textbooks authors and publishers might be under pressure to sell as many books as possible and, hence, present the material in ways they believe will appeal to a wide audience (Gicquel 1992: 103; Slater 1992: 15-7).

2. Pedagogic theory and didactics:

The intended level of knowledge, age, and school environment for books and curricula have an impact on the 'content' of educational media, as well as on the way messages are communicated and presented (Huneke 1997: 224; Scholle 1992: 293; Wimmert 1994: 9). This established fact is the subject of much scholarly research (for example: Schönemann 1984: 9; Stein 1987: 29-35). Although the influence of pedagogics and didactics is not the focus of this

thesis, it must nevertheless be recognised in the analysis and interpretation of schoolbooks and curricula: a textbook aimed at ten year-olds is likely to present the run-up to WWI in a much more simplified manner than in a schoolbook written for an A-level course.

3. The selection and presentation of information:

The information which goes into educational media is carefully selected, interpreted and presented in ways believed to best meet educational goals, to fulfil the needs of the present and be most appropriate to the age group at which it is aimed (Apel 1991: 6-27; Hopmann and Künzli 1998: 20; Huneke 1997: 226; Mackenzie and Stone 1990: 3-4; Pingel 1998: 48; Schissler 1985: 96; Schönemann 1984: 9; Slater 1992: 15; Wimmert 1994: 9-10;) – the mechanisms behind this are discussed in some detail in the theoretical framework above. As such, being up-to-date with the latest academic research or presenting material free of ‘flaws’ has not always been a priority of schoolbook authors; a fact which has been noted and criticised by many scholars (Hinrichs 1992: 45-50; Hug 1992: 471; Huneke 1997: 224; Marienfeld 1979: 4-6; Maehler et al. 1976: 73-97; Wimmert 1994: 9).

3.1.2.2. Educational context: schoolbooks and curricula in schools

Curricula come in different shapes and forms: they can be guidelines or can be binding, they can be very short or very detailed, and they can offer information on didactic methods and/or prescribe the content of education. By extension, curricula can be used in different ways and fulfil different roles in the educational context – lessons (and schoolbooks) may be based on and closely follow the curricula, curricula can be ignored, modified or only partly adopted and curricula can be more or less important than schoolbooks in structuring ‘school reality’ (Apel 1991: 6; Fröhlich 1992: 395; Jung-Paarmann and Thonhauser 1992: 1; Künzli 1998: 9-12; Rüsen 1998: 1; Vollstädt et al. 1999:16; Wiesehöfer 1982: 49).

Similarly the role and importance of schoolbooks in the educational context varies considerably. Furrer (2004: 68-9) has identified three main ways in which history schoolbooks can be used:

1. They can introduce and explain a topic, limiting the role of the teacher to reinforcing this knowledge – this is by far the most frequently used method (at least in history as a school subject);
2. They can be used in a ‘heuristic-instrumental’ way – students learn about historical processes by discovering them for themselves;
3. They can be used in a critical way – the textbook itself is questioned as a historical source.

Other teaching materials (for example, films or photocopies) may be used alongside or instead of schoolbooks and, thus, impact on ‘school reality’ (Becker 1978: 15-7; Furrer 2004: 68-9; Jeismann 1986: XX-XXII; Künzli 1998: 11-2).

The roles ascribed to curricula and schoolbooks and the extent to which different educational media feature in lessons and are used by students depends on a number of factors:

- **The educational and political system:** For example, some states keep a tight grip on their education system, they prescribe what should be taught and train, control and monitor teachers accordingly. Other states adopt a less stringent approach and leave more freedom to teachers (see section 3.2. for a discussion on the German education system).
- **Zeitgeist and current research:** Both the content of educational media and didactic methods prescribed to teachers/used to present information depend on academic and pedagogical research and fashions at the time (Hantsche 1987: 40).
- **Teachers:** Preferences, abilities and time-pressures of/on teachers impact on the extent to, and, the ways in which curricula and schoolbooks are used in lessons (Künzli 1998: 11-2; Lagatz 2002: 22-3; Pingel 1999: 29-30; Wimmert 1994: 8).

3.1.2.3. The influence of schoolbooks and curricula on students

It is particularly interesting in the context of this thesis to investigate whether the content of schoolbooks and curricula has a long-lasting effect on students – especially on their feeling of identity. The literature is divided on this subject: a range of scholars suggest that schoolbooks play a crucial role in socialisation processes (Firer and Adwan 2004; Furrer 2004: 14; Renn 1987a: 3). According to them schoolbooks are mass media which either directly influence students during their formative years, or indirectly through the influence they have on teachers (Becker 1978: 17; Furrer 2004: 14; Jacobmeyer 1992: 376; Jacobmeyer 2002: 123; Schleicher 1993a: 23-4). Furthermore, it is argued that students acquire a pool of ‘basic knowledge’ through textbooks which is either expanded upon in later years (and, therefore, contributes to the way in which new information is perceived and dealt with – see chapter 1) or which remains the main source of knowledge a person has of a particular subject (Hantsche 1987: 41; Pingel 1998: 48).

Other scholars have doubted the effect that textbooks, curricula and education have on students’ feelings of identity and the ways in which they view the world. They argue that education cannot possibly reach every member of the community and, more importantly, that other media and sources of knowledge (such as family traditions, television etc.) are much more powerful in their impact on people’s lives and perceptions (von Borries 1988: 22, 93; von Borries 1990b: 50; Hantsche 1987: 40; Hopmann and Künzli 1998: 31-2; Slater 1992: 12; Stephan-Kühn 1990: 43).

Whatever the case, it is fair to say that textbooks may be important ‘socialisation agents’ but are not the only source of people’s knowledge, views and feelings (Koulouri 2001:15-6)

3.1.2.4. Summary: textbook and curriculum research

Having discussed some of the factors influencing the production and content of educational media, how they are used in schools and the impact they may (or may not) have on students, it is necessary to briefly summarise what curriculum and schoolbook research can actually tell us:

As we have seen, the content and production of teaching materials is influenced by socio-political factors as well as by current pedagogic theory and academic knowledge; educational media ‘capture’ or reflect the *Zeitgeist*. Textbook and curriculum research can, therefore, be useful tools in investigating pedagogic and academic fashions, socio-political views, needs and conditions as well as cultural traditions and practices (Stein 1987: 34-5). It is, however, important to be aware of the fact that schoolbooks do not only contain new information – old ideas, clichés and traditions can persist in textbooks over long periods of time, and it might similarly take a long time for new ideas to become established in textbooks (Becker 1978: 24-5; Hinrichs 1992: 45; Stein 1987: 34-5; Stephan-Kühn 1990: 43). Furthermore, because educational media tend legitimise the prevalent socio-political order, their content may not so much reflect the ‘reality’ in which they are produced but rather the desired state of affairs (Becker 1978: 24-5; Hantsche 1987: 39).

This leads on to a point particularly relevant to this thesis: ‘Underlying assumptions’ in textbooks can tell us much about notions of nationalism, identity and attitudes towards ‘the Other’. To elaborate: *“Textbooks ... adhere to a special approach which perceives other countries on the basis of the history of that country. Perceptions from this angle alone are regarded as absolute and as it were ‘natural’ and constitute the deeper lying reason for distortions in understanding between different nations. Investigating such unconscious pre-suppositions [...] For ‘underlying assumptions’ can slip undetected into the image one has of one’s own country and make this image into a norm for judging circumstances and processes in other countries”* (Jeismann 1982: 8).

From this it arises that *“historical or political facts are not of primary interest [...], what is of interest is the manner in which these facts are interpreted. Defeat or victory in war, successful or failed revolutions may be facts, but these facts allow for various interpretations and are remembered in different ways. It is the way in which they are represented and absorbed into our consciousness which is the decisive factor as to their*

influence on present or even future actions. This is similarly true with regard to state politics, political violence or economic crises. The interpretation of these events based on our political awareness and so leads to certain responses. For instance, if by tradition there is little faith as to what the state can achieve, there will be less disappointment when nothing actually does occur, than when one has the image of an efficient government. Such fundamental patterns as these in one's awareness of history or politics are summarised in the term 'underlying assumptions'" (Jeismann in Fritzsche 1992: 55-6).

Fritzsche has made a number of additional points:

1. *"National similarities need to be considered in 'underlying assumptions' just as much as ideological differences. The 'underlying assumptions' of any one country are by no means homogenous, but as a result of cultures being ideologically determined, manifest themselves differently. Within a country there are 'underlying assumptions' only when the ideologies of a particular group within it overlap. Common 'underlying assumptions' form therefore, only a small aspect of any one country's 'underlying assumptions'" (Fritzsche 1992: 56).*

To illustrate: certain 'underlying assumptions' in an Italian textbook produced by a Christian-democratic author will more closely match those found in a German 'Christian-Democratic' schoolbook than those in an Italian textbook written by a communist. However, despite these ideological differences, Fritzsche suggests that both the Italian schoolbooks would have many 'underlying assumptions' in common that would mark them as 'Italian' and also set them apart from their German counterparts: *"this could, for instance, be a common suspicion that politicians and functionaries are corrupt, thus clearly separating them from their German colleagues regardless of their ideological convictions"* (Fritzsche 1992: 56).

2. 'Underlying assumptions' vary between different groups and individuals - it is up to the schoolbook researcher to determine whether one is dealing with the 'underlying assumptions' of a political and/or educational elite/circle of experts or with those of prevalent among members of the public (Fritzsche 1992: 56).

3. *“It is essential to locate the sensitive spots of individual political culture. These are a decisive factor in determining the degree of attention, resistance and openness which can be employed when dealing with specific topics”* (Fritzsche 1992: 56).
4. Depending on the nation’s view of itself, its history and conditions of the present; images of the ‘Other’ may be negative and distorted or positive and/or idealistic (for example, pro-American attitudes) (Fritzsche 1992: 57).
5. ‘Underlying assumptions’ can arise from ignorance and prejudice or from open-mindedness and tolerance. Furthermore, ‘underlying assumptions’ can be based on fear and self-doubt or on a strong sense of self-confidence (Fritzsche 1992: 57).
6. *“‘Underlying assumptions’ are not inflexible. However, not all aspects can be altered to the same degree. It will be necessary to differentiate between waves of ‘Zeitgeist’, which have a short-term effect on people’s political and historical awareness and revolutions in consciousness regarding politics and history”* (Fritzsche 1992: 57).

3.2. Introduction to the German education system and to the educational media used in German schools

After having gained an understanding of the social and educational context in which educational media are produced and used; it is important to explore how these theoretical concepts manifest themselves in the German education system.

3.2.1. The education system in the FRG: from 1945 to the present

3.2.1.1. Introduction

The education system established in the FRG is closely modelled on older traditions and practices which had – in similar forms – been in place since the '*Kaiserreich*' and before. It is characterised by three main factors:

1. **A three-tier school structure:** All students attend 'Basic School' ('*Grundschule*') for four or six years. They then choose between three main types of secondary school:
 - a. '*Volks- or Hauptschulen*' – a continuation of 'Basic School education' which leads to the most basic qualification (usually after eight or nine years of education).
 - b. '*Mittel- or Realschulen*' – offer a six or four year course which leads to an intermediate qualification (after 10 years of education).
 - c. '*Gymnasien*' (Grammar Schools) – offer a seven or nine year course which leads to the '*Abitur*' and university entry (after 13 years of education, note: this is currently changing to 12 years).

In addition, since the 1960/70s several provinces (not Bavaria) have introduced comprehensive schools ('*Gesamtschulen*') (Hahn 1998: 96-136; Hearnden 1974: 29-70; Herrlitz, Hopf, Titze 1993: 159-6, 203-30).

2. **Federalism:** Education falls under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments. This means that each province is responsible for organising and running its own educational system (Hahn 1998: 96-7; Hearnden 1974: 29-58; Macksen 1977: 18-9; Münch and Meerwaldt 2002: 12-5). A degree of standardisation is reached through the work of the '*Kulturminister Konferenz*' (KMK) ('conference of cultural ministers'). The KMK is a permanent working group which is neither a federal nor a provincial institution; it is, therefore, not anchored in the constitution. Its purpose is to co-ordinate the educational policies between the different provinces and to maintain high educational standards. Its recommendations are not binding; they only become obligatory if released as laws by the individual provincial governments (Führ 1998: 68-74; Hearnden 1974: 142-6; 2006: <http://www.kmk.org/aufg-org/home.htm>).
3. **Teachers as civil servants:** Teachers are usually civil servants for life. This is significant in terms of how the state/nation and its values, norms and policies are portrayed in schools. To elaborate: 'the state' can exercise control over the education system by carefully selecting its teachers – for example, members of anti-constitutional parties (for instance, the communist party) are not allowed to become civil servants. Furthermore, as the employer the state has certain powers over how teachers conduct their lessons – it can, to a certain extent, prescribe how the job has to be done. At the same time, the influence of the state is – deliberately – limited as teachers are granted pedagogic freedom (this also protects them from external pressures such as economic interests) (Wenning 1996: 97-9).

In addition it is worth mentioning that the education system has been the subject of much political and public debate over the years – especially in the immediate post-war period and in the 1960s/1970s. Reform attempts affected different provinces differently, but overall did not significantly change the 'core characteristics' of the education system as outlined above (for more detail see: Berlin 1989; Führ 1998; Hahn 1998; Hearnden 1974; Herrlitz, Hopf, Titze 1993).

3.2.1.2. *Curricula in the FRG and specifically in Bavaria*

Because of the federalist and the three-tier structure of the education system in the FRG, a large number of curricula are in use at any one time in Germany; every province publishes a specific curriculum for each school subject, age group and type of school (Huberti 1990: 26; Vollstädt et al. 1999: 11). The degree of standardisation between the different curricula varies – for instance, research has shown that provincial differences have become increasingly pronounced since the late 1970s (Fröhlich 1992: 395; Höller 1977: 46; Huberti 1990: 26; Macksen 1977: 20). It is also important to note that curricula are ‘living’ documents which have to be reviewed and modified every few years in order to adequately keep up with and respond to changing political and social needs and conditions, as well as to incorporate the latest academic research and theory (Apel 1991: 39; Haft and Hopmann 1987; Hölller 1977: 45; Soysal 2000: 141; Vollstädt et al. 1999: 24-7).

What are curricula?

The make-up of curricula varies greatly between different provinces and decades. However, Jeismann and Schönemann (1989: 24-5) suggest that the majority of curricula produced in the FRG follow a similar ‘formula’, that most of them take into consideration five main dimensions:

1. **‘Normative dimension’**: Curricula take into account the social norms and values and establish what is expected of and needed from the new generation.
2. **‘Functional dimension’**: Curricula outline general educational aims (which can, in turn, be differentiated into cognitive, personal and social goals) as well as more specific goals clarifying the contribution of the three types of schools, the different school years, and the individual school subjects in achieving these general aims.
3. **‘Content dimension’**: Curricula usually specify teaching contents – there are considerable differences in how detailed these sections are.
4. **‘Organisational dimension’**: Curricula outline teaching and learning strategies and processes considered suitable for achieving the overarching educational goals.

5. **‘Control dimension’:** Curricula specify the expected outcome of education as well as formal criteria of how to evaluate and review achievements and progress.

Furthermore, according to Jeismann and Schönemann the FRG curricula generally resemble each other in terms of structure and design. Most curricula include a ‘program-section’ which outlines the general educational aims, justifies and legitimises the curriculum content and contains information on how the curriculum was developed. Additionally, most curricula contain a ‘content-section’. This section – usually the core of the curriculum – establishes particular educational goals, specifies (or, less frequently, advises on) teaching content, educational methods and evaluation strategies. Finally, most curricula incorporate a ‘supportive-section’ which offers guidance and advice on how to use and put into practice the curriculum – often by providing examples of how lessons could be planned as well as suggestions of suitable teaching materials (Jeismann and Schönemann 1989: 29).

Having outlined the similarities between the FRG curricula, it is important to explore some of the differences in more detail. On a general level, curricula can either be very detailed and lengthy documents or they can be very short – leaving much room for interpretation. Furthermore, the content and the aims of curricula can be binding or simply offer guidance (Apel 1991: 15-9; Baumert 1991: 297; Döbert 1995: 6-8; Jeismann and Schönemann 1989: 24-5). To illustrate how these differences manifest themselves in individual cases, as well as to put the case study used in this thesis into context, the following briefly summarises the main changes and developments in Bavarian ‘Middle School’ curricula since 1945:

- **1945-1949:** During the first few years after WWII no official curriculum existed in Bavaria. This is not surprising considering that at the time the country lay in ruins, many schools had been destroyed in the war, resources were scarce and the whole education system had to be reviewed and revised after the collapse of the Nazi regime. However, some meagre official attempts were made to influence school education – between 1945 and 1949 a number of loose guidelines on teaching contents were published (Apel 1991: 11).

- **1950 ‘*Lehrplan für Mittelschulen*’**: All of the three western Allies attempted to reform the German education system after the war in one way or another; their suggestions were often met by strong resistance – usually from the conservatives (CDU/CSU) who envisaged a system which resembled the situation before the seizure of power by the Nazis. It is therefore not surprising that in the late 1940s/1950 a fairly traditional education system was (re-) established in Bavaria where the CSU had a clear majority (Hahn 1998: 96-7, Hearnden 1974: 29-58). The 1950 Bavarian ‘Middle School’ curriculum reflects this conservative approach to education both in structure and content: *“The 1950 ‘Lehrplan’ was in a traditional sense still a ‘Stoffplan’* [‘Stoffpläne’ represent a body of information/knowledge that should be taught to students – Apel 1991: 18-9] *with only a small section of didactical comments. The ‘Stoffplan’ was accompanied by a ‘Studentafel’* [‘Studentafeln’ specify how many hours are allocated to each subject during the week and/or the school year] *from which the overall concept of the Middle School and its self-definition within the public education system became apparent”* (my translation: Apel 1991: 81).
- **1961 ‘*Stoffpläne für die Vierstufige Mittelschule in Bayern*’**: It soon emerged that the 1951 curriculum covered too much ground – students were expected to learn huge amounts of information in very little time. It was therefore decided to extend ‘Middle School’ education from three years (as had traditionally been practice) to four years – starting after the completion of year six in ‘Basic School’. The 1961 curriculum was created to respond to this change in the school structure. However, apart from modifying the content of the curriculum to accommodate these changes, the new curriculum in many ways represented a continuum of the 1950 version – the curriculum producers adhered to a very similar ‘formula’ and layout. However, it is worth noting that it was more precise and detailed in its specification of teaching contents than its predecessors (an extended version of the 1950 curriculum) (Apel 1991: 83-4).
- **1968/9 ‘*Lehrpläne für die Vierklassigen Realschulen in Bayern*’**: As discussed in section 2.1.2., the 1960s marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the FRG: with formation of the Outer Parliamentary Opposition (APO) and the strengthening of the left-wing movement, people became increasingly critical of

the way German politics and society were organised. A reform-movement started which strongly and lastingly affected all areas of public life in West Germany. It is not surprising that in this climate the traditional German education system came under attack. In an attempt to move towards a more inclusive and empowering system, the organisation of education in the FRG, the three-tier school structure and content of curricula were thoroughly reviewed and revised (for instance, comprehensive schools were set-up in many provinces, serious efforts were made to encourage previously excluded groups to take their 'Mittlere Reife' and Abitur and a number of large-scale research projects were set-up to explore ways in which to improve the education system) (Apel 1991: 84-7; Hahn 1998: 114-129, Hearnden 1974: 58-219).

Despite the fact that Bavaria was governed by the conservative CSU, these wide-ranging social and political changes across the FRG had a significant impact on the 1968/9 Bavarian curriculum (whilst holding on to the traditional three-tier school structure). The aim of the new curriculum was to influence school reality, educational and didactical content and methods to a much greater extent than its predecessor. In order to achieve this, a much more detailed and systematic curriculum was produced – more emphasis was placed on didactical methods, teaching support and 'learning goals'. In other words, the new curriculum no longer merely focused on content; it also explained why the selected information was considered important, what it was for and how to communicate it to students (Apel 1991: 84-6).

- **1970s/80s '*Curriculare Lehrpläne*':** One of the central aims of the 1960s reform movement was to make the planning and organisation of education more 'scientific'; it was argued that curriculum development should be based on proper and extensive scholarly research. In practice, this meant that not only was more funding made available for curriculum/pedagogic research from the late 1960s onwards but also that the processes and the structure for curriculum development was modified to become more 'scientific' in itself as well as to be in a better position to incorporate/make use of new research findings (note: the ISP/ISB was set-up in Bavaria as a result – see below, 'Curriculum production and the state') (Apel 1991: 52-3, 87).

The new '*Curriculare Lehrpläne*' that were published in the 1970s and 1980s are the direct result of this shift towards more 'scientific' curriculum development. They are significantly different from their predecessors: the '*Curriculare Lehrpläne*' were very much driven by educational aims (divided into 'knowledge', 'ability/skill', 'realisation' and 'evaluation/judgement'); content was secondary and selected specifically to match the aims. It is important to note that, largely unlike the 1968/9 edition, the aims and the content of the new curricula were binding; teachers were obliged to stick to them (Apel 1991: 52-3, 87).

- **1993 '*Lehrplan für die bayerische Realschule*'**: The 1993 curriculum returned to older practices and granted more educational freedom to teachers than the '*Curricularen Lehrpläne*'. The main reason for this was that the '*Curricularen Lehrpläne*' had greatly restricted teachers in their freedom to conduct lessons in ways which best suited their personalities and experience as well as their students abilities, needs and interests (an especially pressing topic at a time when 'school-stress' and the development of 'individual personalities' were widely discussed in pedagogic circles as well as in wider society). It was thus decided to produce a less prescriptive, detailed and restrictive curriculum. The 1993 edition consisted of four main sections: the first section outlined general aims of 'Middle School' education; the second part introduced general but subject-specific goals; the third section provided an overview of the subject and age-group-specific aims; and the last section specified educational aims and contents for each school year (Apel 1991: 58-60; Apel 1997: 886-7).
- **2001 '*Lehrplanentwurf*'**: Apart from the fact that 'Middle School' education is now being extended to six years and that the content of the curriculum has been modified accordingly, the 2001 '*Lehrplanentwurf*' resembles its 1993 predecessor in the way it is structured: The curriculum outlines the general aims of 'Middle School' education and explains how each subject fits into these wider agendas. Furthermore, it specifies goals for each subject and contains a fairly detailed list of topics to be covered in each school year (including the numbers of lessons to be spent on each subject-area).

In summary, Bavarian ‘Middle School’ curricula changed significantly in both content and structure over the years – they ranged from brief informal guidelines to very lengthy documents which specified what the outcome of each individual lesson should be. Three main factors have influenced curriculum development and educational policies in Bavaria:

1. **Politics (provincial and federal):** The fact that Bavaria has been governed by the conservative CSU since the immediate post-war period means that the education system in Bavaria has undergone relatively few major changes (for instance, unlike in other provinces, the three-tier school structure has never been questioned or modified). Furthermore, the steady influence of the CSU government means that the Bavarian education system is relatively traditional in character (note: conservative educational politics was especially influential when the education system was set-up in the early years after WWII). However, at the same time it is worth noting that wider political changes that affected the whole of the FRG also had an impact on curriculum development in Bavaria. This is particularly pronounced in curriculum changes that occurred as a result of the reform movement in the late 1960s.
2. **Social change and public debates** had an impact on curriculum development in Bavaria and are often closely linked to political factors – again, the most obvious example is the 1968/9 curriculum which was developed in order to respond to increased public criticism of the education system.
3. **Pedagogic fashions and research:** Curriculum development in Bavaria is very much influenced by pedagogic fashions and research – especially since the foundation of the ISP/ISB in the 1970s (see below, ‘Curriculum production and the state’). Two good examples of this are the 1961 and especially the 1970s/80s curricula.

Curriculum production and the state

Curricula are largely state-produced: the state, as the employer, sets objectives, targets and guidelines for its teachers, it takes an interest in and – to an extent – exercises control over the education system. The state’s role in curriculum development and

production is enshrined in the provincial constitutions (Fröhlich 1992: 393; Vollstädt et al. 1999: 13). In Bavaria, for example, it falls within the jurisdiction of the ‘*Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus*’ (‘Ministry for Education and Culture’) (since 1990: ‘*Staatsministerium für Unterricht, Kultus, Wissenschaft und Kunst*’, ‘Ministry for Education, Culture, Research and the Arts’) and is laid out in the ‘*Bayerisches Gesetz über das Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesen*’ (‘Bavarian Law for the Education System’) (Apel 1991: 39-44; Biehl et al. 1998: 226). Furthermore, as outlined above, curricula are also influenced by decisions made on a federal level – the KMK regularly publishes non-binding recommendations which are adopted by most of the provincial governments (Renn 1987b:6-7).

In this context it is important to note that speaking of ‘the state’ and its influence on education somewhat oversimplifies the matter: in democracies, decision-making process are complex, marked by much discourse, conflict and power-struggles between different interest groups, stakeholders and political parties. Curricula are the outcome of these struggles and differences. Depending on the power-structures in place not every party is – or can – be equally satisfied with the result; the conflict never ceases and curricula (and their production) are constantly being reviewed and monitored in the light of these conflicts (Apel 1991: 19-21, 44; Blankertz 1975; Weniger 1952/71). On a basic level, these differences manifest themselves in the nature of the educational policies in the FRG, which differ considerably between Social Democrat and Christian Democrat governed provinces (Macksen 1977: 20).

So how are curricula developed and who is involved in this process? Because of the differences in the organisational and administrative structures between the provinces, this discussion will focus on the situation in Bavaria. Apel (1991:45) has identified two main periods of curriculum development in Bavaria since the foundation of the FRG:

Between 1950 and 1971 curriculum development was mainly the responsibility of the ministry’s consultant. Apel describes the process as follows: “*When a new curriculum needed to be produced, the consultant formed a [...] commission which developed the curriculum within the framework of already existing guidelines. The draft-version was then sent to external experts, [and upon return, the draft was] revised and published in the Amtsblatt*” (my translation Apel 1991: 44-5). In other words, while a wide range of

different interest groups and individuals (such as educational experts, school administrators, churches, teachers' unions, universities and important figures working for large Bavarian firms and cooperations) were consulted in the process of curriculum production, the development itself was very much in the hands of the state. Not least because the state carefully selected those involved in the process – people were largely chosen on the basis of their political views and party background (Apel 1991: 44-5).

This process came under attack with the rise of the reform-movement in the 1960s (see chapter 2.1) – there were demands to make curriculum development clearer, more theoretically sound and research-led. There was also heavy criticism of the curricula for not keeping up-to-date with latest research and for its lack of clear educational aims and agendas (Apel 1991: 45). The Bavarian government responded to these reform pressures by setting-up the '*Institut für Schulpädagogik*' ('Institute for School Pedagogic'), ISP in 1971 (later '*Institut für Schulpädagogik und Bildungsforschung*' – 'Institute for School Pedagogic and Educational Research', ISB) (Apel 1991: 47-53; Beier 1975: 539-45; 2006: <http://www.isb.bayern.de/isb/index.asp>; Müller 1975: 112-20; Westphalen 1980).

The ISP/ISB works with and mediates between researchers, educators and politicians; it develops strategies and plans for the education system and participates in educational research projects. To elaborate: the ISP/ISB is concerned with the development and improvement of the Bavarian education system (part of which is curriculum production). It carries out research and develops strategies of how results of educational research and theory can be used to improve educational practice. However, the ISP/ISB is not an independent research body; it answers directly to ministry which also decides whether the ISB/ISPs recommendations are being implemented (Apel 1991: 48-51). Apel summarises the work of the ISP/ISB, its role and implications as follows: "*The 'legitimisation' of public action which is necessary in democracies is secured by the academic qualifications of the members of the institute, through the scientific/standardised procedures of evaluation and through the consultation/participation of experts in the commissions. [...] The institute is dependent on the ministry but – thanks to its academic nature – it is independent in the planning and realisation of its openly laid-out tasks. In this way the ministry has combined educational-political intentions, science/academia and practice [...] As a result it [was*

hoped] *to ensure that school reforms would always take place in accordance with official educational policies*” (my translation Apel 1991: 51).

With the foundation of the ISP/ISB, curriculum development became a more formalised process and those involved were allocated specific tasks (Apel 1991: 51-2): The state minister of Bavaria generally appoints the members of the curriculum committee (usually based on the ISP/ISB’s recommendation). The committee consists of approximately six pedagogically qualified people, who each have several years of work experience behind them, have an interest in curriculum development and take the task seriously (note: the chairman is generally attached to the ISP/ISB) (Biehl et al. 1998: 226) – most of them are usually teachers (Baumert 1991: 297-8; Dierkes 2005: 84). Additionally, advisors and experts can be consulted on certain subjects (these need to be approved by the director of the ISP/ISB). This means that in practice, a very large number of people can be involved in the production of a curriculum – for example, approximately 475 people participated in the development of the 1993 curriculum (Biehl et al. 1998: 226). The work of the committee is structured and organised by a set of regulations and guidelines and their work – curriculum development – is constantly being monitored (and commented on) by the ISP/ISB as well as, to a lesser degree, by the ministry itself (Apel 1991: 52).

Curricula: state control and ‘school-reality’

Vollstädt et al. write: “*Curricula are given to schools in the hope that faithful servants of the state will put them into practice*” (my translation: Vollstädt et al. 1999: 14). However, as we have seen above, it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent teachers actually stick to curricula, how they use and interpret them. This is especially true for the system in FRG – there are no control mechanisms in place to monitor the implementation of curricula, the influence of the state is ‘input-’ rather than ‘output-’ based and teachers are granted much educational freedom (see above) (Vollstädt et al. 1999: 14-29). It has been suggested that in many cases schoolbooks have a more significant impact on the school reality than curricula (Höller 1977: 45; Vollstädt et al. 1999: 15-6).

3.2.1.3. Schoolbooks in the FRG and specifically in Bavaria

Schoolbook production

Schoolbook production in the FRG is neither entirely state-controlled nor is it completely subject to free market forces. Instead, private authors and publishers produce schoolbooks and then submit the finished product to the state authorities for evaluation. A book can either pass or fail this evaluation – if failed it cannot be sold to students. If the book passes and is approved for use by the state, the publisher is allowed to sell it on the free market. It is important to stress the fact that this procedure, like the curriculum production, operates on a provincial level. In other words, the approval of the Bavarian government does not automatically extend to the other German provinces as well – publishers need to go through the evaluation procedure in every province in which they wish to sell their book. This has led to a very confusing situation where a vast number of textbooks are on the market at any one point in time. It can be rather difficult to determine exactly which books are approved for which province, age group and type of school (Höller 1977: 46; Renn 1987b: 5-6; Teistler 2003: 199).

To elaborate on the level of influence different parties exercise over schoolbook-production in the FRG:

1. The role of the state:

The state needs to make sure schoolbooks match the overall aims and functions of the education system; that they do not clash with its fundamental values, ideology and identity, and that they support the prevalent socio-political order and legitimise existing power structures (see 3.1.). The approval-procedure for new schoolbooks represents a powerful (and the only) control mechanism available to the state for ensuring that textbooks conform with the state-

produced curricula, as well as with the constitution in general (Hantsche 1987: 39; Höller 1977: 45; Hug 1992: 470; Pöggeler 1987: 3-15; Stein 1978: 65-87; Wittrock 1978: 47-8). Detailed evaluation-guidelines are published both by the KMK and by the provincial governments (Schober 1997: 1060; Wittrock 1978: 47-8).

There is a great deal of variation between the provinces in how exactly the evaluation-procedure is organised and who is involved in it (Hug 1992: 470; Synopse zum Schulbuchzulassungsverfahren in den Ländern der BRD 1978: 116-32; Wittrock 1978: 47-8). In Bavaria for example, textbooks are usually evaluated by two experts who are chosen from a large pool of people believed to be suitable for the job (in the late 1990s 2165 potential-evaluators were on the list). Among the requirements to become an official schoolbook-evaluator are pedagogical and specialist expertise, a large amount of work-experience, achievements in the work-place, and a general willingness to take on the responsibility and to deliver sound and thorough work. The evaluators are largely free to perform their work however they feel is appropriate, but they are expected to consult the guidelines and criteria for textbook evaluation published by the Bavarian ministry (Schober 1997: 1059-61). Evaluators in Bavaria remain anonymous (Becker 1978: 23; Schober 1997: 1060). Unlike in some of the other provinces, the verdict of the evaluators is not binding in Bavaria; the final decision of whether a textbook is approved or rejected rests with the ministry (Schober 1997: 1059; Wittrock 1978: 47-8).

2. Publishers and Authors:

Schoolbook authors either decide to write a textbook on their own initiative or they are commissioned by publishers (Renn 1987b: 5-6). In most cases textbooks are written by teams of authors who distribute the tasks between them – some focus on didactics and design, while others select the content, conduct the research, write the texts and/or edit the book (Höller 1977: 48; Jung-Paarmann and Thonhauser 1992: 106; Renn 1987b: 5-6). Traditionally schoolbook authors were mainly university professors but in recent years

teachers have been getting increasingly involved in the task (often the two work closely together). Furthermore, authors are usually people who are very familiar with the curriculum and the education system – this is important if they want their book to pass the approval-procedure. Once the schoolbook is written it is submitted to the publishers (Becker 1978: 17-8; Höller 1977: 47; Huneke 1997: 224; Renn 1987b: 5-6).

There are a large number of schoolbook publishers in the FRG (between 80 and 90 in the late 1970s) (Becker 1978: 18-23; Macksen 1977: 18). Most of them specialise in certain school subjects and/or focus on particular provinces (Becker 1978: 18-23; Schober 1997: 1066-67). Generally it can be said that schoolbook production in the FRG is a private enterprise and operates within a capitalist market economy. As such it is subject to fierce economic competition (especially between a few large publishing houses) (Renn 1987b: 6; Stephan-Kühn 1990: 43) – with publishers trying to keep down cost and, at the same time, reach as big a market as possible (to increase their profit). This may lead to situations where economic interests have as much (or a greater) impact on the quality of schoolbooks than educational aims and curricula (Höller 1977: 47-8; Huneke 1997: 222).

The development of schoolbooks in the FRG and in Bavaria: from 1945 to present

It is possible to identify three main generations of history textbooks in the FRG:

1. **The immediate post-war period (1945 - early 1950s):** The Allies' initial plan to introduce new schoolbooks immediately after the war was not realised – the country lay in ruins and other problems (such as opening the schools in the first place) were more pressing at the time. As a temporary solution many older textbooks (mostly from the Weimar Republic) were re-used until the new schoolbooks became available at the very end of the 1940s (Becker 1978: 25-7; Liedtke 1997: 671-5; Riemenschneider 1982: 296-305; Wimmert 1994: 23-5). This first generation of post-war textbooks very much adhered to established patterns and closely resembled the textbooks used in the Weimar Republic. They

were written in a narrative style and made little use of historical sources or graphics (Jeismann 1981: 94-7).

2. **Mid 1950s to mid/late 1960s:** The schoolbooks used in the 1950s and 1960s were very traditional in the sense that they focused very much on knowledge; information was presented in an organised and structured manner and was closely intertwined with interpretations and evaluations. Little reference was made to controversial topics, history was largely presented as fact and the books hardly contained any student-tasks. This second generation of textbooks did, however, increasingly include maps and graphics and focused much more on sources (mostly written sources) (Jeismann 1981: 97; Rohlfes 1988:156; Wimmert 1994:25).
3. **From the late 1960s onwards:** The third generation of textbooks differed quite considerably from its predecessors – the main aim was no longer the transmission of knowledge or facts; instead, schoolbook authors intended to make students think for themselves and work independently with historical sources. Consequently, the books contained a much larger number of tasks/exercises. Information was no longer simply presented as fact but schoolbooks tried to offer multiple perspectives, and showed that there is often more than one possible interpretation. Furthermore, the textbooks tried to distinguish clearly between information, interpretation and evaluation (Rohlfes 1988: 159-64; Stephan-Kühn 1990: 44-5; Wimmert 1994: 25-6).

Textbooks and schools

As we have seen above, schoolbook production in the FRG is more or less a private enterprise which is subject to capitalist market forces and competition; a large number of publishers try to sell their products on the market. This means that there is a lot of choice for the consumer (Hug 1992: 471; Jung-Paarmann and Thonhauser 1992: 106; Pöggeler 1987: 8). Decisions about which textbooks are bought are usually made in the

‘*Fachkonferenzen*’ (subject-conferences) in schools (Lagatz 2002: 21; Pöggeler 1987: 12). Whilst in most cases the decision of the ‘*Fachkonferenz*’ is respected, it is important to stress that teachers cannot be forced to work with a particular book (‘*Methodenfreiheit*’, free choice of method) (Pöggeler 1987: 12).

3.2.2. The education system in the GDR (1945 to 1990) and in post-unification East Germany/Saxony (1990 to present)

3.2.2.1. Introduction

The GDR

From the very beginning the education system in East Germany was heavily influenced by the socialist ideology; it was subject to strict party (SED) control and organisation (largely through the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences) (Dierkes 2005: 96-7). As a result of this a very different system emerged in the GDR than in West Germany. The socialist character of the education system manifested itself in three main areas:

1. De-Nazification:

De-Nazification among school teachers was much more rigorous in the Soviet Occupational Zone than in the rest of Germany. In an attempt to get rid of all traces of fascism and to move towards a more egalitarian education system, a large number of teachers were made redundant and over 40 000 new teachers were recruited from the working-classes – the new staff were chosen on the basis of their political background and social class; teaching experience hardly featured in the recruitment process (Hahn 1998: 96-7).

2. Educational and school structures:

The structure and organisation of East German education system differed from its West German counterpart in two respects: first, education was centrally administered (federalism was not re-introduced). Second, the three-tier school structure was abolished and replaced by a more comprehensive and egalitarian system.

To briefly summarise the main developments: In 1946 elementary schooling was raised from four to eight years, followed by four years in Vocational- or Upper Schools (Hahn 1998: 96-7, Hearnden 1974: 71-4). In the 1950s elementary schooling was extended by two more years – all students now spent the first ten years of their education in the so-called '*Zehnklassenschule*'. In 1959 the status of '*Zehnklassenschule*' changed; it was now referred to as the '*Zehnklassige Allgemeinbildende Polytechnische Oberschule*' (POS). At the same time, the traditional '*Oberschule*' (Upper School) became the '*Erweiterte Oberschule*' (Extended Upper School) and lost its monopoly to university access. These developments were accompanied by a new emphasis on polytechnic education (in both types of school): from year eight onwards all students spent one day a week working in factories and/or on the land in order to strengthen the economy as well as to learn to appreciate hard work and working-class values (Hearnden 1974: 98-176; Moore-Rinvoluceri 1973: 36-52).

The commitment to providing a fairer, more inclusive education system to match the aims of the new socialist state (as witnessed in the educational reforms discussed so far), suffered somewhat of a set-back in the 1960s (Hearnden 1974: 98-176; Vogt 1970: 11-7; Waterkamp 1989: 24). The fierce rivalry and competition in almost every aspect of life between the Eastern block and the Western world following the Sputnik event in 1959 led to the establishment of so-called '*Spezialschulen*' (Special Schools), which were more or less detached from the rest of the education system. From now on the emphasis shifted from including and supporting disadvantaged students to promoting the particularly gifted and academically excellent pupils (Döbert 1995: 42-3; Hearnden 1974: 140-76; Herrlitz, Hopf and Titze 1993: 186-92).

3. Aims and content of education:

Almost from the very beginning the education system was used to create and foster the so-called 'socialist personality' (Döbert 1995: 39,54; Szalai 1993: 64-70; Vogt 1970: 11-17). The aim was to 'produce' committed and loyal citizens who would love their 'socialist fatherland' and would be willing to fight for it, who would have a strong sense of collective identity and live by socialist values and morals (Neuner 2000: 292-3; Szalai 1993: 64-70). It is thus not surprising that the content of education was very much based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology which was portrayed as absolute truth (Hahn 1998: 137-8; Hearnden 1974: 58-219; Szalai 1993: 66 and 1995: 38-9; Zückert 1995: 141). In accordance with this no distinction was made between ideology and fact – the two were seen to be the same thing (Szalai 1993: 67).

Re-unification and the education system in East Germany and specifically in Saxony

After the re-unification the GDR education system was completely abolished and replaced by the West German model: education fell within the jurisdiction of the provincial governments, all socialist influences were removed from the agenda and the three-tier school structure was introduced in most provinces (note: in Saxony the '*Hauptschule*' was not set up as an independent type of school, but was combined with the 'Middle Schools': after year seven of the 'Middle School' course students are free to decide if they wish to complete their 'Middle School' education or want to leave school after year nine - Biehl et al. 1998: 231-2). In order help with the transitional period, each of the new provinces chose a West German 'partner-province' which could be turned to for guidance and advice. Saxony, for example, was twinned with Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg (Döbert 1995: 118-40; Hahn 1998: 159-68).

These changes obviously had an enormous effect on teachers and students. Suddenly everything that was known and familiar was different – people were asked to adapt to a new environment, to live by different rules and adopt a completely new set of values

and morals. The transition caused a great deal of confusion and insecurity and did not always happen easily. For example, it is virtually impossible for teachers to suddenly forget all they have learned, to abandon their socialist ideals, learn everything from scratch and teach things they had regarded to be false for all of their lives (Niermann 1990: 379). In other words, the content of education may have changed less rapidly and less severely than it would appear by looking at the educational media.

3.2.2.2. Curricula and schoolbooks in the Soviet Occupational Zone and in the GDR: 1945-1989/90

Schoolbook and curriculum production was even more strictly state-controlled and coordinated in the GDR than in the FRG. It was organised in a way that matched very clear educational agendas and programs (Hantsche 1987: 50; Jeismann 1986: XXIII; Jeismann and Kosthorst 1986: 122-3; Szalai 1993: 74-6 and 1995:38-9). As a result of this, the structure and content of schoolbooks and curricula did not change as much over the years as they had in their West German counterparts (Dierkes 2005: 92). The following section explores these issues in more detail.

Introduction to curricula and schoolbooks in the GDR

As we have seen above, the overarching aim of the GDR education system was to create and foster 'socialist personalities'. Curricula essentially represent the government's master plan on how to achieve this. It is thus not surprising that the GDR curricula are very prescriptive and leave little educational freedom to teachers. They instruct teachers precisely what to teach and how to teach it. To elaborate, most curricula consist of two main sections:

1. **The Introduction:** In most cases the introduction outlines the reasons for teaching a particular subject and explains how it fits in with wider educational aims and agendas. Additionally, the introduction specifies learning-goals (students are to acquire a certain level of knowledge but also a certain set of

convictions) as well as teaching methods and materials to be used (Döbert 1995: 44-5).

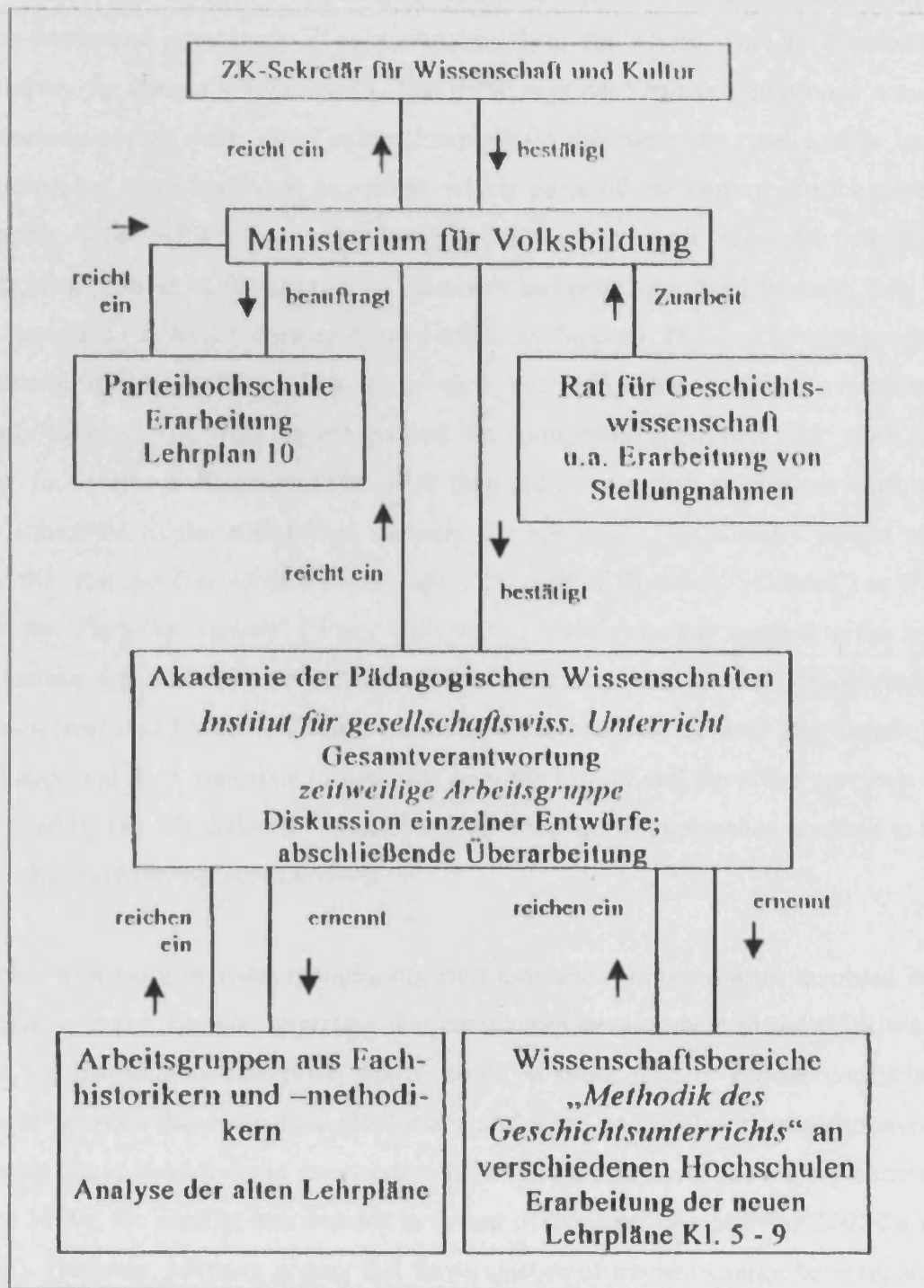
2. **Detailed plans for individual school years:** These sections usually prescribe the content of what is to be taught, the order in which certain topics are to be covered as well as the number of lessons allocated to each topic. Furthermore, they specify learning goals in terms of knowledge, skills and convictions as well as teaching methods and educational materials (Döbert 1995: 44-5).

Schoolbooks were written on the basis of these very detailed curricula. So much so, that they can almost be seen as an extension and an elaboration of the curricula (Baumert 1991: 292; Döbert 1995: 142-3; Gies 1989: 620; Mätzing 2000: 465; Neuner 2000: 287-8). Of course, schoolbooks in the FRG were/are also based on curricula but the relationship between the two was/is more open, less rigid and controlled. There are several reasons for this. First, in the FRG the production processes of curricula and schoolbooks were/are – in many ways – separate, involving different people and interest groups. This was not really the case in the East (see below). Second, West German curricula tended/tend to be less detailed, leaving more room for interpretation by schoolbook authors than was the case in the GDR. Third, in the GDR, unlike in the FRG, there was only ever one textbook approved for any subject and age group at any one point in time. In other words, only one officially sanctioned interpretation of the curriculum was available to teachers and students. Fourth, the use of teaching materials other than schoolbooks was more limited in the GDR than in the FRG (Jeismann and Kosthorst 1986: 123; Kappler 1990: 195-6; Niermann 1990: 380).

In summary it can be said that educational media in the GDR were developed and produced in an all-embracing, standardised system which ensured consistency and compatibility between schoolbooks, curricula and other teaching materials (Döbert 1995: 142-3; Neuner 2000: 287-8).

The production of curricula in the GDR

Curriculum production in the GDR was co-ordinated, controlled and monitored by the state. Mätzing's diagram illustrates how curriculum production was organised and who was involved in the process (she uses the 1980s history curricula as an example):



Ablaufdiagramm zur Lehrplankonzipierung in den 80er Jahren
(Entwurf: H. Chr. Mätzing; Gestaltung: Chr. Albers)

Figure 2: Curriculum production in the GDR (1980s history curricula)

In summary: the ‘Academy of Pedagogic Sciences’¹ (APW) was ascribed a central role in the production of curricula. It answered directly to the ‘*Ministerium für Volksbildung*’ (‘Ministry for People’s Education’). The APW organised and commissioned a number of working-groups made up of external experts (in this particular case, a large number of historians were involved) to review which parts of the current curricula needed updating. The APW also appointed committees to draft the new curriculum. Interestingly, most of the committee members had pedagogic backgrounds; they were not historians (in West Germany the two often overlapped). This had advantages from a didactical and methodological point of view but meant that academic expertise was largely lacking. The working-groups and the committees submitted their work to the APW for review and revision. The APW then produced a final curriculum draft which was submitted to the educational ministry for approval. The ministry sought advice from the ‘*Rat der Geschichtswissenschaft*’ (‘Council of Historical Sciences’) as well as from the ‘*Parteihochschule*’ (‘Party University’) (note: this only applied to the history curriculum for year 10) before submitting the curriculum to the ‘*ZK-Sekretär für Wissenschaft und Kultur*’ (‘Central-Committee Secretary for Science and Culture’) for final approval. It is important to note that only the history and the civics curricula were approved by the ‘*ZK-Sekretär*’ – reflecting the ideological importance ascribed to these two subjects (Mätzing 2000: 465-7).

Bearing in mind how many people, organisations and intuitions were involved in this process, it is perhaps not surprising that curriculum development in the GDR was not always a harmonious enterprise, that it could at times lead to serious conflicts and debates between those involved. Historians and more-politically-orientated parties, for example, came head-to-head over certain issues in production of the history curriculum in the 1980s; the conflict was decided in favour of the latter (see Mätzing 2000 for more detail). However, Mätzing argues that these clashes of interest cannot be compared to those in pluralistic and democratic societies because historical materialism remained a fixed parameter for historiography. (Mätzing 2000: 473).

¹ Before 1970 it was the ‘*Pädagogisches Zentralinstitut*’ (‘Pedagogical Central Institute’) (Neuner 2000: 287).

The production of schoolbooks in the GDR

Similar to curricula, new textbooks were reviewed and evaluated by a range of experts and had to gain the approval of the educational ministry. As mentioned above, schoolbook authors were expected to closely follow the aims, content and structure outlined in the curricula (Hantsche 1987: 50; Mätzing 2000: 463-4). In addition, further guidelines and instructions on schoolbook-writing were made available by the state. These contained information on specific topics – such as the structure of schoolbooks – and were expected to be followed closely by the textbook authors (Niermann 1990: 381-2).

GDR schoolbooks were usually produced by teams of authors made up of teachers, researchers and academics. Niermann argued that experienced teams of authors who had worked together in past were generally favoured by the authorities. He suggests that one of the reasons for this was to limit the potential for new and creative ideas and to maintain the status quo (Niermann 1990: 381-2).

This leads on to a closely related point: only those individuals, institutions and organisations who adhered to the party-line and who were familiar with and committed to the Marxist-Leninist ideology were selected to participate in schoolbook and curriculum production. This meant that the potential for fundamental criticism and new ideas was cut off right from the start (Direkes 2005: 84-5; Niermann 1990: 380). This is one of the reasons why scholars have argued that GDR curricula and textbooks – even more so than their West German counterparts – are particularly good sources of official/public notions of historical consciousness and national identity (Jeismann 2000: 179; Jeismann and Kosthorst 1986: 122).

On a final note, unlike in West Germany, all schoolbooks were printed and released by the same state-owned publishing house - 'Volk und Wissen Verlag' (Hantsche 1987: 41,49).

The development of curricula and schoolbooks in the GDR

The aims, content and structure of GDR curricula remained fairly stable compared to their West German counterparts. It is, nevertheless, possible to distinguish five distinct phases of curriculum development:

- **1945 - 1951:** The first curricula were published in 1946 (followed immediately by a revised edition in 1947) by the '*Deutsche Zentralverwaltung für Volksbildung*' ('German Central Administration for People's Education'). This curriculum was designed for 'Basic- and Upper Schools' only, as 'Middle Schools' did not exist at this time. It laid out clearly defined educational aims and although the content was reminiscent of Weimar traditions, a socialist influence was already apparent (Döbert 1995: 19-20; Jeismann and Kohorst 1986: 130; Neuner 2000: 280; Schmid 1992: 580-1). The production of new schoolbooks took slightly longer – the new history textbook did not become available until 1951 (Jeismann and Kohorst 1986: 131).

- **1951/2 – 1959:** New curricula for 'Basic- and Upper-Schools' were introduced in the early 1950s in face of major political developments (such as the foundation of the GDR and the beginnings of the Cold War) (Döbert 1995: 20; Neuner 2000: 280-1).

The new curricula specified very detailed teaching contents, laid out strict examination and control-mechanisms and were generally characterised by enormous syllabuses. These very ambitious curricula asked students to learn such vast amounts of information that it was, in many cases, impossible to meet their expectations. In order to rectify the situation, parts of the curricula were replaced over the years by so-called '*Direktiven*' (Neuner 2000: 281).

In terms of content, it is important to note that in the new curricula the Marxist-Leninist ideology became firmly established as the basis of all school subjects (Döbert 1995: 21-2).

A new set of schoolbooks was developed to incorporate the changes in the curricula (Döbert 1995: 21-2).

- **1959 – Mid 1960s:** New curricula were published in connection to the introduction of the POS (see above) (Döbert 1995: 23-7). No new history curriculum was published during this time.

- **Mid 1960s - Late 1980s:** In the late 1960s and early 1970s new curricula were introduced for the POS. They were characterised by a stronger focus on and a more systematic approach to the development of 'socialist personalities'. The aim was to incorporate individual school subjects as well as the school/educational experience as a whole into an overall educational model based on the socialist ideology and life-style. With the exception of a few modifications (for example, the year 10 history curriculum), the 1960s/70s curricula remained in use until the late 1980s (Döbert 1995: 27-30).

The new curricula were accompanied by a set of new schoolbooks (Döbert 1995: 27-30).

- **1980s:** The plan was to replace the 1960s/70s curricula by 1990 and to bring them up-to-date in terms of content and teaching methods. Generally it can be said the overall position and direction of the new edition had changed very little since the 1960s/70s curricula (Döbert 1995: 30-5).

Again, the new curricula were accompanied by the production of new schoolbooks (Mätzing 2000: 463-5).

Teaching materials and 'school reality' in the GDR

Whereas in the FRG the influence of the state and the educational authorities was/is largely limited to the 'input' function, the East German state was also greatly concerned with policing the realisation of curricula (and textbooks). Much effort was devoted to checking whether, and making sure that, teachers based their lessons on the curricula, and that these lessons were conducted in accordance with the official party-line and educational agendas (Döbert 1995: 64-6 and Waterkamp 1989: 33-5). Furthermore, in order to help teachers comply with the guidelines (or, rather, instructions) as outlined in the curricula, regular training courses were provided (Szalai 1993: 76 and 1995: 38-9; Waterkamp 1989: 33-5).

In summary, neither schoolbook authors nor teachers were given the same freedom as in the FRG – the curricula specified exactly what information should be conveyed in each

lesson and how teachers should go about teaching it. As a result of this, it has been argued that East German teaching materials reflect the 'school reality' to a greater extent than their West German counterparts (Baumert 1991: 292; Hantsche 1987: 50; Jeismann 1985: 225). It is, however, important to bear in mind that, no matter how detailed the specifications and how strict the controls, teachers always have a degree of freedom and conduct lessons in ways they feel is right (Kappler 1990: 195-6; Neuner 2000: 288; Szalai 1993: 89). Furthermore, there is never a guarantee that education actually has the intended effect on students (Hantsche 1989: 50).

3.2.2.3. Curricula and schoolbooks in East Germany and specifically in Saxony after the Re-unification: from 1989/90 to 2000

As discussed above, the West German education system was introduced almost immediately after the re-unification. This, of course, also affected curriculum and schoolbook production. After unification, the existing GDR curricula and schoolbooks were no longer valid and new teaching materials were created at an enormous speed (Döbert 1995: 143; Zueckert 1992: 130-1). In Saxony the new curricula were developed and published by the 'State Ministry for Culture'. Although not much information is available on curriculum production in Saxony, it is clear that overall 242 people were consulted in the processes and that the 'Ministry for Culture and Sport' in Baden-Württemberg (Saxony's partner province) played a key role in the development of the first Saxon curriculum (Biehl et al. 1998: 232).

The new Saxon curricula and schoolbooks broke with GDR traditions. The extremely ideologically-motivated socialist educational agendas were replaced by the aim to educate students in the spirit of humanism, individualism and democracy. This change was accompanied by a complete revision of the teaching aims and contents. Furthermore, the structure and format of the curricula was changed – the new Saxon curricula were less detailed and restrictive and left much more room for interpretation (Döbert 1995: 117, 141-5).

3.2.3. To what extent are curricula and textbooks representative of the public sphere?

As we have seen above, in both West – and especially – in East Germany curricula and schoolbooks were/are state-produced and/or –controlled. They represent the officially ‘sanctioned’ views of present realities, plans for the future and interpretations of the past. Educational media contain a ‘canon’ of information the state or the society believes to be necessary for its survival. Schoolbooks and curricula are, therefore, good sources of public/official perceptions, views and identities (von Borries 1988: 44; Furrer 2004: 16-8; Jeismann 1986: XXII; Pingel 1998: 37-8; Pöggeler 1987: 3; Soysal et al. 2005: 14). However, it is important to remember that not everyone in the state or in society is directly involved in the decision-making process. It is not ‘the state’ or ‘the society’ as a whole who decides what is included in textbooks and curricula – the production of teaching materials is always a question of existing power-structures and –struggles. In both West and East Germany those in a position of power largely determined the organisation and the content of the public education system. Of course, these decisions do not take place in a vacuum, but are influenced by economic pressures and conditions, academic fashions and perceptions and opinions in the private sphere. Furthermore, it depends on the prevalent political and educational system, who those in power are, and how much consensus there is between them. For example, in the GDR, education was in the hands of the SED elite; whereas in the West schoolbook and curricula production was/is the outcome of discussion and debate between different interest groups, different sectors in society and, particularly, between the different parties represented in the provincial government (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991: 4-5; Jeismann 1986: XXII; Jeismann 2000: 179; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 6-7; Soysal et al. 2005:14).

Finally, it is important to remember that it is difficult to determine in how far educational media reflect ‘school realities’ and what impact they have on students (von Borries 1988: 206-7; Clarke and Bourdillon 1992: 100; Künzli 1998: 9; Szalai 1993: 89).

3.3. An introduction to history education

The literature suggests that there are two main reasons for teaching history in schools: legitimisation and identity (Fawcett and Habu 1990: 217; Firer and Adwan 2004; Friedrich et al. 2002: 162; Furrer 2004: 57-8; Lau 1982: 71; Rüsen 1998:2-4). The 'legitimisation-function' has already been discussed in some detail above (see 3.1.)

The relationship between identity and history education is particularly interesting in the context of this thesis and requires elaboration: neither national identities nor historical consciousness develop independently or free of influence – they are acquired in socialisation processes which are initiated and guided by a range of different 'socialisation agents'. Formally organised and controlled history education in schools is one such agent (Berghahn and Schissler 1987: 1-2; Furrer 2004: 26-8; 57; Rüsen 1998: 2). It is considered particularly important by many scholars as it usually represents the first structured, meaningful and complete (from beginning to end – not all-embracing) historical narrative a person will encounter in their life. This set of carefully selected, structured and interpreted collective memories and traditions forms the basis on which students develop their collective identities, their feelings towards and relationship with their national 'in-group'. In short, history education provides pupils with reference points in time and space; it addresses important questions about who the 'in-group' is, where it has come from, whether it has the right to be and how it can be distinguished from other 'groups' (Antoniou and Soysal 2005: 105-6; Friedrich et al. 2002: 162; Pingel 1998: 37-8, 48; Pingel 1999: 7, 27; Rüsen 1998: 4; Soysal 2000: 130).

Furthermore, many people will never again devote as much time to learning about the past as they do in school – they will never again be confronted with such a comprehensive and structured historical narrative as the one presented in educational media (Schissler 2001: 94). History education thus has a special place in many people's lives: new information is likely to get fitted into or around the historical narrative they remember from school.

However, in this context it is important to note that for many people history education in school is not the only source of their historical knowledge and that people's historical consciousness and pool of knowledge is not static or frozen – people encounter

historical narratives in many different places and are confronted with a range of different historical sources/media throughout their lives (for instance, films, novels, historical societies, universities, magazines, travel etc.). Furthermore, not all of the different sources are compatible with each other – most people will be confronted with ‘academic’/‘scholarly sound’ interpretations of the past and fiction as well as ‘pseudo-history’. In short, history education plays an important role in the formation of most people’s historical knowledge, historical consciousness and identity but is by no means the only influential ‘socialisation agent’.

3.3.1. History education in the FRG: from 1945 to the present

3.3.1.1. The early years: from 1945 to the late 1960s

Between the late 1940s and late 1960s national history remained – as had been practice in the Weimar Republic and in Nazi Germany – the focus of history education; it was taught in chronological order and was based on prominent events and figures in the German past. The history of other nation-states was only covered if it was directly related to and/or overlapped with German history or if it was considered to have had a significant impact on the development of German history. Consequently, much emphasis was placed on American and, especially, Western European history. In other words, a half-hearted attempt was made to view German national history within in the context of the Western/Occidental tradition- and value system (Dierkes 2005: 87-8; Jeismann 1985: 229; Rohlfes 1988: 156; Schörken 1992: 112-3; Toepfer 1998: 167).

This national (and, largely, Euro-centric) focus of history education in the early years of the FRG was accompanied by a tendency to write ‘histories from above’, i.e. to write political historical narratives in which ordinary people hardly featured. These political histories of ‘great men’ tended to concentrated on international relations – rather than internal political affairs (Becher 2004: 116; Rohlfes 1985: 247-8). Consequently, historical narratives were very much ‘personalised’: the biographies and deeds and/or achievements of particular individuals (or, in fact, entire nations which were granted historical agency) were depicted as being representative of entire movements and/or periods (Becher 2004: 115-6).

Alongside political history, a substantial amount of cultural history was taught in West German schools in the first two and a half decades after the war (Toepfer 1998: 167). It was hoped that cultural history would promote peace and solidarity in the post-war climate. Von Borries remarked that this often resulted in a rather patronising, ethnocentric Christian missionary representation of the past (von Borries 1988: 202-3). It is also worth mentioning that West German history education was generally characterised by fierce anti-communism (Rohlfes 1985: 247-8).

So far we concentrated on those aspects of history education which survived from earlier traditions and practices, it is now important to turn to the changes that occurred in the post-war era – to summarise the key points: first, from the immediate post-war period onwards, democracy represented an important value in history education – although possibly in a slightly non-reflective manner which often lacked self-criticism. By extension, totalitarian regimes were strongly condemned. Second, the German ‘*Volk*’ was no longer portrayed as special and/or superior to other peoples. Third, the concept of war was completely rejected and was no longer seen as a sensible option for solving conflicts (Rohlfes 1985: 248).

In short, the way history was taught in the first two and a half decades after the war largely reflects the public historical consciousness prevalent at the time (see 2.1.).

3.3.1.2. From the 1970s to the present

The significant socio-political transformations and movements that changed the FRG in the late 1960s and 1970s had a large (and lasting) impact on the way history was taught in schools – the changes mainly manifested themselves in following areas:

1. National and European history:

There was a noticeable decline in the teaching of national history over the years. This development was accompanied by an increasing concern with European-,

world- and local history. From now on national history presented only one of the structuring elements of public historical narratives. History education promoted multi-faceted identities and encouraged the development of national, local and (especially) European affiliations (Dierkes 2005: 82-4; Rohlfes 1988: 163; Soysal 2000: 134-42; Soysal et al. 2005: 15-7, 30-1; Toepfer 1998:168).

In this context, it is important to briefly elaborate on how European history is taught in the FRG: first, the educational media often paint an idealised view of Europe – many schoolbooks stress Europe's role and importance in the development of core values and concepts such as 'human rights', 'justice' and 'freedom' (Toepfer 1998: 169). Second, 'European history' is frequently used as an umbrella term for developments that were actually restricted to a small number of individual European nation-states (Toepfer 1998: 169; Westheider 1995: 191-3). In other words, in many cases the term 'European history' suggests a homogeneity which did not exist (Westheider 1995: 193-4). Generally, it can be said that in the FRG educational media 'European history' tends to predominantly deal with Western Europe (Jeismann 1985: 262-3; Klose 1995: 235; Westheider 1995: 198). Finally, in many cases European history is portrayed in a sense that suggests that everything in the continent's past aspired towards, and would contribute to, inevitable European unification (Jeismann 1985: 263).

2. 'Types of history', the nature of historical narratives:

From the 1970s onwards social and economic history became increasingly popular – often pushing cultural history out of the syllabuses. This development was accompanied by a new trend to write 'histories from below'; the history of individual agents and actors was largely substituted by a focus on collectives and national 'sub-groups' (such as women or the working-classes) (Becher 2004: 116-8; Dierkes 2005: 84; Rohlfes 1985: 248-9; Rohlfes 1988: 163; Toepfer 1998: 169-70).

This also affects the ways in which schoolbooks deal with the subject of national ancestors: *“In today’s German and French textbooks national ancestors and heroes, like the nation itself, lose their uniqueness and particularity. Ancestral tribes, such as the Germanic and Gallic tribes – the Normans, Franks and Celts increasingly are depicted not in heroic but in cultural terms; through the images of quaint village life, hospitality, food, and artistic achievements. Rather than being introduced as establishing a national genealogy, ancestors are placed in a framework of everyday culture and intercultural encounter [...] Categories of time and space are thus expressly suspended in favour of the cultural perspective”* (Soysal et al. 2005: 20). The same applies to the role of national heroes which are no longer presented as perfect and well-loved role-models but are treated in a more critical and reflective manner (Soysal et al. 2005: 20-1).

3. Values and leitmotifs:

‘Democracy’ and ‘participation’ continue to be important values in history education. However, whereas earlier their sphere of influence was limited to the actions of the state, from the 1970s onwards textbooks stress the fact that ‘participation’ and ‘democracy’ concerns all members of society. Consequently, topics such as social inequality and injustice as well as ‘intercultural education’ become more and more popular (Rohlfes 1985: 248-9; Soysal 2000: 136).

4. ‘Ancient’ and modern history:

Since the 1970s modern history has become increasingly popular in FRG schools (Dierkes 2005: 87; Rohlfes 1988: 163; Soysal 2000: 135-6; Soysal et al. 2005: 15). ‘Ancient’ and medieval history play a comparatively minor role, they are usually embedded in a historical narrative of human progress and development: *“from the times of the ancient Greeks and Romans and the Christian Middle Ages to the coming of age of the nation-state”* (Soysal et al. 2005: 15).

5. Didactics:

In the 1970s the emphasis moved away from 'presentational' teaching to new educational methods which increasingly asked students to 'explore' and evaluate the past for themselves (Rohlfes 1988: 163-4). "*Knowledge of history as an overarching goal of education was replaced by an understanding of history through the application of historical methods*" (Dierkes 2005: 88).

3.3.2. History education in the GDR (1945 to 1990) and in post-unification East Germany (1990 to present)

3.3.2.1. History education in the GDR

To summarise some of the main characteristics of history education in the GDR:

1. National history:

History education in the GDR focused largely on the German past. Much in accordance with the official party-line, national history was generally seen within its international (read: socialist) context. The GDR was portrayed as belonging to a group of progressive countries which pursued the same goals, had fought similar struggles and had managed to liberate themselves from reactionary forces; these countries now stood united against the imperialist and capitalist enemy (Jeismann 1985: 222-4). Furthermore, the educational media presented the GDR as the more advanced and 'better' German state – based on the progressive, socialist and peaceful forces and traditions in German history. In practice this meant that the schoolbooks focused very much on the history of the German working-classes in the 19th and 20th century (Jeismann 1985: 222-4; Lau 1982: 64).

Interestingly, the profound changes in the SED's approach to the 'German-question' and 'national history' in the 1970s hardly manifested themselves in history education (see Mätzing 2000: 463-73 for more details on the subject) – the revised 1980s curricula and schoolbooks largely adhered to the earlier 'two lines of tradition'-concept and historical narratives continued to focus on the German working-classes, their movements and revolutions. Nevertheless, a few changes did occur: first, the books placed greater emphasis on exploring the effect of socialist/progressive events in international history (for instance, the 'October Revolution' and the 'Parisian Commune') on the course of German history. Second, certain elements/figures of 'bourgeois history' that had previously been ignored were included in the new educational media (for example, Bismarck) (Mätzing 2000: 469-73). Third, the revised schoolbooks and curricula placed more emphasis on local and regional history than their predecessors. Szalai argues that this can be seen as an attempt to bind students to their more immediate environment in order to compensate for the flagging support of the GDR by the majority of its citizens (Szalai 1993: 84-5).

2. The Marxist-Leninist ideology:

Much in accordance with the overarching goal of the GDR education system to create a 'socialist personality', history education was very much influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and view of historical progress. Although the particularities of historical interpretation were slightly modified over the years, the parameter of history education – the materialist view of historical processes – remained unchanged over the 40 years of GDR rule: history was portrayed as fact and as being subject to universal and fixed laws. At the same time, '*Parteilichkeit*' ('taking sides') and ideological influences on the interpretation of the past were greatly encouraged – ideology and 'science' were treated as an entity (Dierkes 2005: 92-3; Döbert 1995: 44; Multhoff 1979: 57-8; Szalai 1993: 68-79; Schmid 1992: 582).

3. Socialist history and the importance of the most recent past:

History was taught in chronological order – it was largely based on/structured around the evolutionary stages outlined in the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress (Schmid 1992: 583). Furthermore, as mentioned above, history education focused predominantly on ‘socialist history’ both in Germany/the GDR and in other socialist countries. Generally, much emphasis was placed on the transition from the capitalist/imperialist to the socialist world order. This meant that history education largely concentrated on modern history (especially that of the 19th and 20th century) – the most recent past was considered particularly relevant to the political reality in the GDR and represented an important source of East German socialist pride (Dierkes 2005: 94; Gies 1989: 622; Wimmert 1994: 28).

4. Didactics:

The way history was taught in GDR schools matched the general approach to the past and the very clear and specific educational aims: lessons were mainly based on lectures during which the teachers tried to enthuse students about the socialist cause, traditions and achievements (Szalai 1993: 78-80). Strong emotions played an important role in history education: students were animated to ‘love’ their socialist fatherland and all those who had helped to build it and to ‘hate’ the ‘class-enemy’ (Gies 1989: 622-3; Herzfeld 1960: 18; Jeismann 1985: 225; Multhoff 1979: 57-8; Schmid 1992: 583). ‘Class-discussions’ were another common teaching method. These were usually led by the teacher and were aimed towards very specific outcomes (Szalai 1993: 78-80).

3.3.2.2. History education in East Germany after 1990

History education was completely revised after unification in almost every possible way – changes affected both the way the subject was taught as well as the ‘content’ of educational media. The Marxist-Leninist influence on history education was completely

rejected after re-unification – the whole course was re-structured and re-written from scratch (Döbert 1995: 98-1001; Kappler 1990: 192-7). From 1990 onwards the aim was to educate students in a way that would enable them to become critical members of society, to think for themselves and to prepare them for life in a pluralistic democracy (Döbert 1995: 98-146).

The schoolbook and curriculum analyses explores how the teaching of the ‘ancient past’ fits in with these wider trends and developments in history education.

Chapter 4

Introduction to the Analysis of Educational Media

4.1. Aims, objectives and main research questions

The overarching aim of the analysis is to gain a better understanding of how the historical narratives presented in educational media fit into, and are affected by, the wider socio-political processes which generate and define the public historical consciousness and national identity as outlined in the theoretical framework (chapter 1).

The following research areas and questions are of particular interest:

1. The ‘content’ of historical narratives – especially with regard to the ‘ancient past’:

- a. What information is included in the historical narratives (selection processes)? What role is ascribed to the ‘ancient past’? To what extent do the historical narratives focus on ‘ancient’/‘national history’?
- b. How are the historical narratives constructed? How is information presented, arranged and interpreted in order to create meaningful historical narratives? How are historical dynamics dealt with? How does the ‘ancient past’ fit in with the rest of the historical narrative, i.e. what meaning is ascribed to the ‘ancient past’ and how is it made relevant to more recent history as well as to present and to the future?
- c. To what extent and how is the ‘content’ of historical narratives influenced by prevalent forms of political ideology, public notions of historical consciousness and national identity, as well as by the socio-economic and political conditions at the time?

2. The communication of public historical narratives (again, especially with regard to ‘ancient history’) to the ‘private sphere’, and the functions that

historical narratives are intended to fulfil in the present/in society (history education as a ‘socialisation agent’):

- a. What messages are communicated in the historical narratives?
- b. What functions are the historical narratives intended to fulfil in the present (which is, at the time the educational media are written, actually the future)?
- c. Do the educational media promote the development of national identities? If so, what kind of national identities?
- d. How are the historical narratives and attached messages and values communicated? Do the educational media promote an ‘open’ or ‘closed’ sense of historical consciousness?

The following applies to all of the questions: within the research framework outlined above, what are the differences between FRG and GDR educational media and different generations/iterations of schoolbooks and curricula?

4.2. A brief literature review: curriculum and schoolbook research

Both curricula and schoolbooks are the subject of much scholarly attention. Most commonly, schoolbook and curriculum analyses are conducted within the realms of what is titled ‘schoolbook revision and research’ – the aim of which is to detect and revise common prejudices and stereotypes in the educational media and to use schoolbooks (and curricula) to promote friendship and communication between nations-states and different social-, cultural- and ethnic groups (for more details on textbook revision and research see: Höpken 2003: 10-8; Paul 1998: 77; Pingel 1998: 38-47; Pingel 1999: 8-19; Schissler 1985: 89-96; Slater 1992: 13-4, amongst others). Schoolbooks and curricula are also studied by educationalists as well as by academics from a range of different disciplines who have an interest in the way their subject is represented in schools.

Bearing in mind the different contexts in which schoolbook and curriculum analyses are carried out, it is not surprising that the studies address a wide range of research questions. For instance, some schoolbook and curriculum researchers investigate how teaching materials are used in schools and/or the effects that they have on students. Others explore the processes behind the production of teaching materials (for example see: Apel 1991; von Borries 1988; Döbert 1995; Fries 1998; Haft and Hopmann 1987; Hügli et 1998; Mätzing 2000; Philipps 1998; Seilner-Müller und Künzli 1998; Seliner-Müller 1998: 139-147; Vollstädt et al. 1999; Weinbrenner 1992). The majority of studies, however, are concerned with the actual content of educational media – they tend to focus on particular themes or topics and compare how they are interpreted and/or presented in different schoolbooks or curricula either through time and/or in different contemporary societies/contexts (for example see: Furrer 2004; Hantsche 1987: 42-52; Jacobmeyer 1992; Jeismann 1986; Paul 1998; Schallenberger 1964; Scholle 1992: 292).

Four main groups of studies are particularly relevant in the context of this thesis:

- 1. Analyses which deal with the representation of the history or culture of foreign countries and Europe – for example see:**

- Lißmann (1998) who writes about the representation of 'Germany' in French and German schoolbooks;
- Paul (1998) who writes about the representation of 'Europe' in schoolbooks and curricula from a number of different European countries;
- Pingel (1995 and 2002) who explores the relationship between local, national and global dimensions in European textbooks and curricula.
- Schissler (1985) who writes about English history in German schoolbooks;
- Schönemann (1984) who writes about Polish history in German schoolbooks;
- Stephan-Kühn (1990) who writes about representations of 'Hungary' in German history textbooks.

These studies are relevant in the context of this thesis because the research category 'the ancient past' is not only concerned with German history but also incorporates the history of other countries in the world.

2. Analyses which deal with issues of identity and historical consciousness – for example see:

- Antoniou and Soysal (2005) who write about conceptualisations of the 'Other' in history education in Greece and Turkey;
- Dragonas and Frangoudaki (2001) who write about national and ethnocentric biases in Greek schoolbooks;
- Fawcett and Habu (1990) who write about national history, identity and power in Japanese textbooks;
- Fitz (2001) who writes about Welsh identity within the British educational system;
- Friedrich et al. (2002) and Wollersheim et al. (2002) who write about the presentation of regional identities in Saxon schoolbooks;

- Furrer (2004) who writes about images of the nation in Swiss schoolbooks;
- Lau (1982) who writes about the relationship between German history and identity in German schoolbooks from the 1970s;
- Meissner (2001) who writes about nationalism in history education in Basic Schools in Prussia, Bavaria and Austria between 1918 and 1933/1938.
- Soysal (2000) and Soysal et al. (2005) who write(s) about changing national identities as presented/reflected in German schoolbooks;
- Spakowski (1999) who writes about national identity and historical consciousness in popular history books in China;
- Stojanovic (2001) who writes about the role of textbooks in the creation of national identity in the Balkans.

Although many of these studies are not concerned with the ‘ancient past’ and/or Germany, they are relevant to this thesis as they pursue similar research goals – they explore the relationship between representations of the past and individuals’ feelings of identity.

3. Analyses which deal with the ‘ancient past’ – for example see:

- Erdmann (1992) who writes about the representation of the Romans in German and French textbooks and curricula between 1850 and 1918;
- Huneke (1997) who writes about the presentation of pre- and early history in a German textbook;
- Maehler et al. (1976) who write about representation of the ancient world in German history schoolbooks;
- Marienfeld (1979) who writes about the role and the presentation of pre- and early history in German curricula and textbooks;
- Ruiz-Zapatero and Alvarez-Sanchis (1995) who write about prehistory in Spanish textbooks from 1880 to 1994.
- Senechau (2003) who writes about the influence and the role of museums on history education and schoolbooks;

- Sommer (2002) who writes about the presentation of prehistory in Saxon schoolbooks from the 19th century;
- Stone and MacKenzie (1990) who have edited a volume dedicated to 'Archaeology and Education' (which contains case studies from countries all over the world).
- de Vries (1991) who writes about the presentation of prehistory in Bavarian teaching materials from 19th century;
- Walter (1999) who offers recommendations and guidance on how to teach Roman history;
- Wiesehöfer (1982) who writes about the presentation of ancient trade in German schoolbooks;
- Wimmert (1994) who writes about the presentation on the Greek Olympic Games in German history schoolbooks.

Although these studies are concerned with the 'ancient past' in the widest sense, many of them are not directly related to the issues raised in this thesis – most of them focus either on factual accuracy and/or general issues regarding the presentation of very specific periods/aspects of the past.

4. Analyses which deal with the influence of politics, ideologies and/or the zeitgeist on the presentation of the past (mainly in Germany) – for example see:

- Herzfeld (1960) who writes about the influence of ideology on the presentation of history in German schoolbooks;
- Jacobmeyer (1992) who writes about the influence of nationalism, the zeitgeist and politics on the representation of historical events in German and other European textbooks;
- Jeismann (1985), Jesimann (1986), Jeismann (2000), Jeismann and Kohorst (1986) who write(s) about the representation of the 'German question'/German history in FRG and GDR textbooks and curricula;

- Marienfeld and Overesch (1986) who write about the representation of Germany and the ‘German question’ in history schoolbooks and curricula in the FRG;
- Pöggeler (1985) who writes about the influence of politics on schoolbooks;
- Schallenberger (1964) who writes about the influence of the zeitgeist on representations of the past in German schoolbooks.

These studies are relevant to this thesis in the sense that politics, ideology and the zeitgeist all have an impact on the public historical consciousness and national identity communicated and displayed in educational media.

In summary, the curriculum and schoolbook analysis carried out in the context of this thesis incorporates aspects of all of these different types of studies. It is original in the sense that it investigates the relationship between the ‘ancient past’ and the public historical consciousness and national identity as displayed/communicated in German educational media. Furthermore, unlike the majority of studies that deal with ‘ancient’ topics, it is not limited to a particular event or period; instead it looks at the ‘ancient past’ as a whole and explores how German prehistory/early history is dealt with in comparison to the ‘ancient history’ of other places in the world. Furthermore, unlike most other studies, it systematically investigates the role ascribed to the ‘ancient past’ in schoolbooks and curricula in comparison to more modern periods.

4.3. The sample

4.3.1. Limiting the scope

The analysis of German schoolbooks and curricula has to take into consideration and deal with two main characteristics of the post-war education system: first, two very different education systems existed in West (FRG) and East (GDR) Germany. Second, an enormous number of schoolbooks and curricula were in use in Germany (especially in the FRG) between 1945 and 2000. In order to enable a comparison and make the amount of work manageable, it was decided to limit the scope of the analysis in two main ways:

1. **Focus on one West German and, after the reunification, one East German province:** Bavaria in the West and Saxony (post-1990) in the East. There are two main reasons for this choice: first, Bavaria and Saxony are quite similar – they are both large, relatively wealthy (in terms of West and East Germany respectively) have a long history and maintain a strong sense of provincial identity. Second, Bavaria was chosen over other West German provinces because the educational media are more easily accessible.
2. **Focus on ‘Middle School’ education:** for the purpose of this thesis ‘Middle School’ education is defined in the broadest possible sense: it includes all those schools which release students after year 10 (the early years in the GDR are an exception: ‘Middle Schools’ did not exist during this time – for these early years the analysis focuses on Basic School textbooks and curricula). The main reason for choosing ‘Middle School’ education is to ensure a fair comparison between the two areas: as outlined in section 3.2., Basic and Upper Schools were largely abolished in the GDR and a ten-year-educational course was made compulsory for everyone.

4.3.2. History curricula

With a few exceptions (see details in the tables below) almost all of the history curricula for ‘Middle Schools’ (or equivalent) used in Bavaria, the GDR and post-unification Saxony between 1945 and 2000 are included in the analysis. The following briefly elaborates on how the curricula were obtained:

Bavaria

Two main sources were used to identify and determine the number of history curricula that were used in Bavaria between 1945 and 2000: first, Apel (1991) compiled a list of history curricula produced for Bavarian ‘Middle Schools’ (including details on how long they were used for) in his research on curriculum development in Bavaria. Second, “*Schulreporte*” (available from 1977 onwards) proved to be a useful source of information. “*Schulreporte*” are annual publications dealing with all sorts of educational matters in Bavaria; they usually contain detailed information for teachers about which curricula to use and where to find them.

The curricula themselves are kept in the library of the “*Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung*” in Munich.

Six Bavarian curricula (or, better, ‘sets’ of curricula) are included in the analysis:

Bavarian Curricula			
Decade	Date	School years	References/Notes
1940s	n/a	n/a	n/a
1950s	1950	For years 8 to 10 only – in 1950 Middle School education in Bavaria only lasted for three years; it started with year 8 after seven years of Basic School education.	„Lehrplan für Mittelschulen“ in: <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus</i> , vol. 11: 165-8
1960s	1961	7-10	„Lehrpläne für die vierklassigen Realschulen in Bayern“ in: <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus</i> : 252-5
	1969	7-10	„Lehrpläne für die vierklassigen Realschulen in Bayern“, <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus</i> , vol. 3: 125-71 In the 1970s some aspects of the curriculum were revised for years 7 and 8 – these changes are not considered in the analysis.
1970s	n/a	n/a	n/a
1980s	1980/81	7-10	1980: „Lehrpläne der vierjährigen Realschule - Curricularer Lehrplan für Geschichte in den Jahrgangsstufen 7 und 8“, <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus, Teil 1, Sondernummer 29</i> : 999-1020 1981: „Lehrpläne der Realschule, Lehrplan für Geschichte - 9. und 10. Jahrgangsstufe“, <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus, Teil 1, Sondernummer 28</i> : 1021-1035
1990s	1993	7-10	„Lehrplan für die bayerische Realschule“, <i>Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht, Kultus, Wissenschaft und Kunst, Teil 1, Sondernummer 1</i> : 1-390
2000s	2001	6-10	„Lehrplanentwurf - Realschule: Geschichte“. www.realschule.bayern.de/lehrplan (29/10/05)

Figure 3: Table of Bavarian history curricula included in the analysis

The GDR

All of the GDR history curricula are kept in the ‘Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Schoolbook Research’ (GEI) in Brunswick (Germany)². It was largely possible to determine from the curricula themselves how long they were in use from (most of them specify the ‘start from’ date as well as the edition/reprint).

Four GDR curricula (or, better, ‘sets’ of curricula) are included in the analysis:

² Established in 1975 with the aim to improve school textbooks and to promote communication and friendship between different cultures/nations, the institute carries out comparative schoolbook research from countries all over Europe and the world. As part of their work the GEI collects history, geography, social studies/politics and German as a foreign language educational media – especially textbooks – from a range of countries all over the world (Pöggeler 2003: 38-40; Renn 1987: 17-8; Teistler 2003: 199-207).

GDR Curricula			
Decade	Date	School years	Reference/Notes
1940s	1947	5-8 – ‘Middle School’ education did not exist during this time, most students attended Basic or Upper Schools – the curriculum is valid for both.	Deutsche Verwaltung für Volksbildung in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands. 1947: <i>Lehrpläne für die Grund- und Oberschulen in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands. Geschichte</i> , 2 edn, Volk und Wissen Verlag, Berlin/Leipzig The first history curriculum in the Soviet Occupational Zone was published in 1946 – it was slightly revised in the following year; the first and the second edition are very similar. It was decided to include the 1947 curriculum (rather than the 1946 edition) in the analysis as it was in use for a longer period of time (until 1951).
1950s	1955	5-8 A number of ‘Middle School Curricula’ were published in the 1950s. These were not included in the analysis for two reasons: first, Middle Schools were not very popular at this time and were very soon abolished (see section 3.2.); second, it was not possible to obtain the full set of curricula (year 8 is missing from the collection in the GEI).	Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. 1955: <i>Lehrplan für Grundschulen. Geschichte. 5. bis 8. Klasse</i> Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin A number of curricula/different editions were produced in the 1950s (1951, 1952, 1953 and 1955) – as they are all virtually identical it was decided to use the last of them (in use for the longest period of time) as an example.
1960s/70s	Various	5-10	1972: <i>Lehrplan für Geschichte, Klasse 5</i> , 1972 edn, Volk und Wissen, Berlin. 1967: <i>Ziele und Inhalt des Unterrichts im Fach Geschichte (Klassen 5 bis 10) und Grundsätze zur Unterrichtsgestaltung und präzisierter Lehrplan für Geschichte Klasse 6</i> Volk und Wissen, Berlin. 1967: <i>Präzisierte Lehrplan für Geschichte, Klasse 7</i> , 4 edn, Volk und Wissen, Berlin. 1968: <i>Präzisierte Lehrplan für Geschichte, Klasse 8</i> Volk und Wissen, Berlin. 1969: <i>Lehrplan für Geschichte, Klasse 9</i> Volk und Wissen, Berlin. 1970: <i>Lehrplan für Geschichte, Klasse 10</i> Volk und Wissen, Berlin. A number of almost identical editions were published over the years; only one edition is included as an example in the analysis. Also, the curriculum content for year 10 was revised in 1977 – these changes are not considered in the analysis.
1980s	1988	5-10	Ministerrat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik - Ministerium für Volksbildung. 1988: <i>Lehrplan der zehnklassigen allgemeinbildenden polytechnischen Oberschule. Geschichte - Klassen 5 bis 10</i> , 1 edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin

Figure 4: Table of GDR history curricula included in the analysis

Post-unification Saxony

The history curricula used in post-unification Saxony are kept in the GEI and are also available online.

Two Saxon curricula (or, better, ‘sets’ of curricula) are included in the analysis:

Saxon Curricula			
Decade	Date	School years	Reference/Notes
1990s	1992	5-10	<i>Lehrplan Mittelschule, Geschichte: Klassen 5-10</i> Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus, Dresden. For the first year after the re-unification one curriculum served all of the 'Allgemeinbildende' schools – this is not included in the analysis.
2000s	2004	5-10	"Lehrplan für Mittelschulen: Geschichte". www.sn.schule.de/~ci/1024/lp-abs-landesliste-ms.html (14/12/05)

Figure 5: Table of post-unification Saxon history curricula included in the analysis

4.3.3. History schoolbooks

In order to decide which schoolbooks to include in the analysis, it was necessary to compile a list of all the history textbooks used in/‘approved’ for Bavarian and East German ‘Middle Schools’ that deal with the ‘ancient past’ (see Vol.II.1.).

Considering the large number of textbooks on the West German market, this was a fairly complicated undertaking as far as the FRG was concerned. The problem was approached as follows:

- **Pre-1980 Bavarian textbooks:** The Bavarian ministry of education annually publishes a list of approved schoolbooks (they are usually attached to, or are special editions of, the so-called ‘*Amtsblätter*’). Most of these lists are either kept in the library of the GEI or in the ‘*Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung*’ in Munich. However, it is important to note that there are some gaps in the collections. These are not considered to significantly affect the results of the schoolbook analysis: first, because the analysis itself is only based on a sample (see below). Second, because in most cases schoolbooks are/were approved of for several years – they appear on several lists. It is therefore unlikely that many approved textbook were ‘missed’ altogether.
- **Post-1980s Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks:** From the early 1980s onwards all ‘approval lists’ for the whole of the FRG are collected and published annually by the GEI. These ‘Synopsen’ are kept in their library and were easily accessible.

It is important here to reinforce the fact that approval-lists do not actually tell us whether a certain schoolbook was purchased for Bavarian schools, and therefore do not tell us to what extent it was used (Friedrich et al. 2002: 163; Pingel 1999: 21-2; Schober 1997: 1055-7; Wimmert 1994: 50). It is virtually impossible to determine the extent to which approved schoolbooks were used in schools – one possible way of finding out would be to obtain information from publishers on how many copies they sold of each of their books. It is, however, questionable whether this information would be available for every textbook that was approved by the Bavarian state between 1945 and 2000.

Furthermore, in the context of this part of the thesis, the actual usage of schoolbooks is of secondary concern – the main objective is to explore the public sense of national identity and historical consciousness.

The situation is more straightforward for GDR textbooks – as outlined above, only one history schoolbook was in use at any one point in time. The GEI's complete collection of GDR textbooks was used to compile a list of all relevant history books used between the late 1940s and 1990.

As for the selection process itself, due to the vast number of textbooks and the very time-consuming nature of the analysis, it is not possible to include every approved schoolbook in the analysis (see Vol.II.1. for a full list of approved FRG schoolbooks and sample). The following elaborates on how the sample was chosen:

- None of the schoolbooks from the immediate post-war period (1940s) are included in the analysis. There are two reasons for this: first, a severe shortage in resources meant that no history textbooks were published in Bavaria in the 1940s – teachers either made-do without books or used older editions from the Weimar Republic (Liedtke 1997: 670-8). Second, the only history schoolbook published during this time in GDR is a translation from a Soviet textbook. As this was only a temporary solution until the first German books were published, it can be assumed that this book was neither widely circulated nor in use for a very long time.
- There are several editions (or reprints) of each GDR book and of some of the Bavarian books. Thorough examination showed that the differences between the editions are usually very minor and do not affect the content of the books. It was, therefore, decided to consider only one edition (the first edition where available) of each book.
- In the GDR in the 1950s history was taught in two 'chronological cycles'. This means that the 'ancient past' was covered twice: the first time in years 5 and 6,

and then again in years 9 and 10. This practice stopped in the late 1950s. From then on history was taught in one ‘chronological cycle’ only. Consequently, only one set of GDR schoolbooks for years 9 and 10 deals with ‘ancient history’. In order to ensure consistency in the analysis and to make possible comparison between the books, it was decided to exclude these books from the analysis.

- It is important to be aware of one main difference between the Bavarian schoolbooks and their GDR counterparts: in the GDR, history was introduced as a subject in year 5, whereas until very recently Bavarian Middle School education only started in year 7 (before this students either went to Basic School – at which history was taught in years 5 and 6, or to the ‘*Gymnasium*’ – at which history was not taught in years 5 and 6). In other words, the GDR books were aimed at 10-12 year-olds, whereas the Bavaria textbooks were written for 13-15 year-olds. As the analysis is not concerned with didactics, it is argued here that the two-year age gap does not skew or significantly affect the results. Both sets of schoolbooks deal with the first two years of history education in ‘Middle Schools’.
- There are great differences in the quantity of books available for the different provinces/the two states as well as for different periods in time. For example, whereas in the 1970s in the GDR only one set of history schoolbooks was concerned with the ‘ancient past’, in the 1990s and 2000s Saxon teachers could choose between over sixty different books. This situation was dealt with as follows:
 1. **1950-1990:** As only one GDR schoolbook was in use at any one time, it was decided to include all of them in the analysis (note: ‘*Geschichtslesebücher*’ are not considered as they represent a different kind textbook). Two main criteria were used to select a sample from the great range of approved Bavarian textbooks: first, in order to ensure a fair comparison between the two countries, those Bavarian books were chosen which were published at roughly the same time as their GDR counterparts. Second, in those cases where more than one set of books (volume I and II) matched the GDR textbooks in date, the number of

years a book was approved for was used as the deciding factor – based on the assumption that the longer a book was approved for, the more widely spread and influential it would have been.

2. **1990-2000:** Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks were selected on the grounds that their date of publication matched as closely as possible. In cases where several textbooks met this criterion, the book approved for the most number of years was selected

The following schoolbooks were included in the analysis:

Bavarian Schoolbooks				
Book Reference	Date	No. of volumes	References/Notes	Approved in
B1	1950	1	Watermann, K. & . 1950, <i>Bilder aus der Alten Welt</i> , 1? edn, Verlag Joh. Borgmeyer, Bonn am Rhein.	1964
B2	1956/7	2	B2a: Scharold, H. & Schultes, F. 1957, <i>Geschichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten, Mittelstufe. Band I: Geschichte des Altertums</i> Verlag Dr. Martin Lurz, München. B2b: Ebner, F., Heydenaber, H., & Stadler, H. 1956, <i>Geschichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten. Mittelstufe. II. Band: Mittelalter</i> , 1? edn, Verlag M. Lurz, München.	B2a: 164 B2b: 1959/1964
B3	1959/60	2	B3a: Karell, V. 1959, <i>Geschichte des Altertums für vierstufige Mittel- und Realschulen. Ein Lehr-, Lern- und Arbeitsbuch</i> , 1? edn, Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, München. B3b: Karell, V. 1960, <i>Geschichte des Mittelalters für vierstufige Mittelschulen und Realschulen. Ein Lehr-, Lern- und Arbeitsbuch</i> , 1? edn, Bayerischer Schulbuchverlag, München.	B3a: 1964/1968 B3b: 1960/1964/1968
B4	1966/67	2	B4a: Lachner, M. & Riedmiller, K. 1966, <i>Altertum - Band I</i> , 1 edn, Blumenburg- Verlag; Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, München; Paderborn. B4b: Lachner, M. & Riedmiller, K. 1967, <i>Mittelalter - Band II</i> . Blumenburg-Verlag; Ferdinand Schöningh, München; Paderborn.	B4a: 1968/1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981 B4b: 1968/1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981/1982/1983
B5	1970/1	2	B5a: Demeter, R. & Wühl, P.-W. 1970, <i>Geschichte für Realschulen. 1: Altertum</i> , 1? edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg B5b: Rossa, E. & Stierstorfer, K. 1971, <i>Geschichte für Realschulen. 2: Mittelalter</i> , 2 edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg.	B5a: 1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981 B5b: 1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981/1982/1983
B6	1983/8	2	B6a: Brack, H. & Selmeier, F. 1983, <i>Geschichte 1: Urzeit, Altertum und Frühmittelalter</i> , 1 edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg. B6b: Brack, H. 1988, <i>Geschichte 2: Mittelalter</i> , 1 edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg.	B6a: 1986/1987/1988/1989/1990/1991/1992/1993/1994/1995/1996 B6b: 1989/1990/1991/1995 Note: The first edition was approved for 1989 and 1990; the second edition for 1991 to 1995 – not available.
B7	1994	1	Brack, H. & Brückner, D. 1994, <i>Treffpunkt Geschichte. Band 1 für die 7. Jahrgangsstufe der Realschulen: Von der Antike bis zur Schwelle der Neuzeit</i> , 1 edn, C.C. Buchner, Bamberg.	1995/1996/1997/1998/1999/2000/2001/2002/2003
B8	2001	2	B8a: Bruchertseifer, H.; Hochmuth, M.; Rieger, J.; Ruhmann, A.; Urban, A.; Wein, G.; Zißler, J. 2001, <i>Entdecken und verstehen. 6. Realschule Bayern. Von den Anfängen der Geschichte bis zum Frühmittelalter</i> , 1 edn, Cornelsen Verlag, Berlin. B8b: Beer, D.; Bruchertseifer, H.; Rieger, J.; Wein, G.; Zißler, J. 2001, <i>Entdecken und verstehen 7. Realschule Bayern. Vom Mittelalter bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg</i> , 1 edn, Cornelsen Verlag, Berlin.	B8a: 2001/2002/2003 B8b: 2002/2003

Figure 6: Table of Bavarian history schoolbooks included in the analysis

GDR Schoolbooks			
Book Reference	Date	No. of volumes	References/Notes
GDR1	1951	1	GDR1: 1951, <i>Lehrbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht. 5. Schuljahr.</i> , Volk und Wissen Verlag, Berlin/Leipzig. Note: Five editions
GDR2	1957	2	GDR2a: Mühlstädt, H., Schenderlein, E., & Wegner, E. 1957, <i>Aus vergangener Zeit - Lehrbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht. 5. Schuljahr</i> , 1 st edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin. GDR2b: Mühlstädt, H. 1957, <i>Bauern, Bürger und Feudalherren - Lehrbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht. 6. Schuljahr</i> , 1 st edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin.
GDR3	1960/3	2	GDR3a: 1963, <i>Lehrbuch für Geschichte der 5. Klasse der Oberschule</i> , Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin. GDR3b: 1960, <i>Lehrbuch für Geschichte der 6. Klasse der Oberschule</i> , Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin.
GDR4	1966/7	2	GDR4a: Behrendt, D., Brentjens, B., Dieter, H. & Padberg, W. 1966, <i>Lehrbuch für Geschichte der 5. Klasse der Oberschule</i> , Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin. GDR4b: Günther, R., Wermes, H., Bartmuß, H.-J., et al.. 1967, <i>Lehrbuch für Geschichte der 6. Klasse der Oberschule</i> , Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin.
GDR5	1971/8	2	GDR5a: Behrendt, D., Friedrich, H., & Iffert, H. 1971, <i>Geschichte - Lehrbuch für Klasse 5</i> , 1 edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin. GDR5b: Czok, K., Günther, R., Held, W., Hoyer, S., Kuhles, J., Matschke, K.-P., Müller, S., & Wermes, H. 1978, <i>Geschichte - Lehrbuch für Klasse 6</i> , 1 edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin.
GDR6	1988/9	2	GDR6a: Donat, P., Neumann, H., & Audring, G. 1988, <i>Geschichte - Lehrbuch für Klasse 5</i> , 1 edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin. GDR6b: Bartmuß, H.-J., Erbstößer, M., & Zöllner, W. 1989, <i>Geschichte - Lehrbuch für Klasse 6</i> , 1 edn, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin.

Figure 7: Table of GDR history schoolbooks included in the analysis

Saxon Schoolbooks				
Book Reference	Date	No. of volumes	References/Notes	Approved in
S1	1991	2	<p>S1a: Ebeling, H. & Birkenfeld, W. 1991, <i>Die Reise in die Vergangenheit - ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch. Ausgabe für Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen. Band 1: Vorgeschichte und Altertum</i>, 1 edn, Westermann Schulbuchverlag, Braunschweig.</p> <p>S1b: Ebeling, H. & Birkenfeld, W. 1991, <i>Die Reise in die Vergangenheit - ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch. Band 2: Europäisches Mittelalter</i>, 1 edn, Westermann Schulbuchverlag, Braunschweig.</p>	<p>S1a: 1991/1992/1993/1994/1995/1996/1997/1998/1999/2000/2001/2002/2003</p> <p>S1b: 1991/1992/1993/1994/1995/1996/1997/1998/1999/2001/2002/2003</p>
S2	1998/2000	2	<p>S2a: Hoenack, A., Koltowitz, B., Meyer, C., Stöckel, J.-P., Willert, H., & Witt, K. 1998, <i>Geschichte plus. Ausgabe Sachsen. Klassen 5/6</i>, 1 edn, Volk und Wissen, Berlin.</p> <p>S2b: Bayer, B., Krufke, A., Mäding, K., Stöckel, J.-P., & Witt, K. 2000, <i>Geschichte plus. Ausgabe Sachsen. Mittelschule. Klasse 7</i>, 1 edn, Volk und Wissen, Berlin.</p>	<p>S2a: 1998/1999/2000/2001/2002/2003/2004</p> <p>S2b: Approved in: 2000/2001/2002/2003</p>

Figure 8: Table of post-unification Saxon history schoolbooks included in the analysis

4.3.4. Summary

In summary, the analysis is based on 16 sets of schoolbooks (usually including volume I and II): 8 from Bavaria (West Germany) and 8 from East Germany (6 from the GDR and 2 from post-unification Saxony). Furthermore, in order to be able to explore changes in the public historical consciousness and national identity over time, the sample includes at least one set of East German and one set of Bavarian (West German) books from each decade (1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s).

It is important to be aware of the limitations of the analysis arising from the sample and the sample-size: first, almost all of the GDR books are included in the analysis. The sample is, therefore, more-or-less representative of the whole ‘population’ of GDR textbooks. This is not the case with Bavarian and the Saxon schoolbooks – only eight (Bavaria)/two (Saxony) sets of books were chosen out of several approved textbooks (see Vol.II.1.). It is therefore prudent to be careful about making inferences from the sample about the whole ‘population’ of Bavarian/Saxon (let alone FRG) schoolbooks. The results of the schoolbook analysis are therefore only examples of how certain issues are represented in FRG textbooks.

4.4. Methodology

4.4.1. Quantitative and qualitative research tools

The curriculum and the schoolbook analyses contain both quantitative and qualitative elements. The two approaches complement each other well: the quantitative methods summarise and describe the data in a straightforward manner; the qualitative methods analyse the selection, presentation and interpretation of information in detail (Drexhage et al. 1982: 53; Furrer 2004: 88-91; Pingel 1999: 45; Wimmert 1994: 46-7). Before discussing how these methods are used to answer particular research questions, it is necessary to outline the basic principles behind, as well as the advantages and limitations of, the two approaches:

4.4.1.1. *Quantitative methods*

Curricula

The objective of the quantitative part of the curriculum analysis is to determine how much weight is placed on teaching particular topics and types of history over the course of 'Middle School' education. In order to gain such an overview, each topic listed in the content-specification of the curricula was assigned to pre-defined categories (see 4.4.2.). The number of topics within each category was then counted and a percentage in relation to the total number of curriculum-topics was calculated.

Curricula are particularly well suited to this type of analysis because they are relatively few in number and outline the content of history education in a very concise, bullet-point manner. It would, for example, be much more laborious to carry out a similar analysis on schoolbooks – not only would one need to get hold of, and at least skim-read, complete sets (year 5/7 to year 10) of approved schoolbooks (which is difficult in itself) but one would also have to deal with variations between the different sets.

However, there are some difficulties and limitations to the approach adopted in this thesis:

- The number of topics specified in the curricula does not necessarily reflect the amount of time teachers devote to the different subject areas in their lessons.

Note: the GDR curricula specify how many lessons should be spent on each topic, most of the Bavarian curricula do not. In order to ensure a fair comparison between the two sets of data it was decided to not consider the time-specification in the GDR curricula and focus on the number of topics instead.

- Not all curricula are binding (see 3.2.).
- There is no guarantee that teachers actually follow the structure/content as outlined in the curricula. The analysis, therefore, reflects more clearly the type of history considered important by the curriculum producers than the reality of history lessons (see chapter 3).
- History curricula appear in various shapes and forms; some are very long and detailed whilst others barely cover a page – this makes a comparison between different curricula difficult. This problem is largely overcome by comparing the percentage of topics devoted to a particular area or type of history in relation to the total number of topics that deal with the ‘ancient past’ rather than actual number of topics.
- The classification of topics is somewhat subjective and not all topics easily fit into the pre-defined categories (see Vol.II.2.).

It is important to stress that because of these difficulties, the results of the analysis must be treated as indications rather than as exact measurements.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the quantitative analysis of curriculum topics is an original approach to gain an overview of different topics and types of history taught over the course of history education. It differs from less comprehensive and systematic

and/or qualitative attempts to capture the content of curricula (see literature review), from studies which are based on the actual teaching-time allocated in the curricula (for instance, see Soysal 2000: 135) as well as from curriculum analyses which focus on the role of curricula in schools and/or curriculum reforms and developments (for example Apel 1991; Wolf 1975; Kaiser 1975; Merkens and Strittmatter 1975).

Schoolbooks

Two different quantitative methods were employed in the schoolbooks analysis:

1. ‘Space-analysis’:

‘Space-analyses’ are common and are mainly used to complement or ‘objectify’ qualitative results (Wieshöfer 1982: 53; Furrer 2004: 88-91; Marienfeld and Overesch 1986: 8; Pingel 1999: 45; Scholle 1992: 293; Wimmert 1994: 46-7). They measure how much space is devoted to particular topics (Pingel 1999: 45; Scholle 1992: 293; Wimmert 1994: 43). The assumption behind ‘space-analyses’ is that more room is devoted to those topics which are considered particularly relevant (Jacobmeyer 1992: 379; Pingel 1999: 45; Wimmert 1994: 43-4).

It is important to point out that ‘space analyses’ are somewhat limited both in what they can tell us about the content of schoolbooks as well as in the subtleties they can actually capture: ‘space-analyses’ do not, for instance, provide any information on values communicated in the text and/or about the interpretation and presentation of information (Pingel 1999: 45; Wimmert 1994: 44). Furthermore, rather than devoting large amounts of space to relevant subjects, schoolbook authors may highlight the importance of topics/points by, for example, using particularly strong language and/or references to the present (Wieshöfer 1982: 60).

Additionally, it is necessary to outline some of the problems that arise particularly in comparative studies: first, schoolbooks vary considerably in

length, layout and font size. It is therefore difficult to find a method of measuring space in a way that allows the comparison between books. In order to overcome this problem, the method of comparison used was between the total number of pages devoted to each topic in each set of books, expressed as a percentage of the total number of pages devoted to the 'ancient past' in that set. To illustrate:

Comparing 'schoolbook-set 1' (including volume I and II) with 'schoolbook-set 2' (including volume I and II)

Set 1

Topic 'a' equals 75 pages

Set 1 has a total of 375 pages devoted to the 'ancient past'

Topic 'a' equals 20%

Set 2

Topic 'a' equals 30 pages

Set 2 has a total of 300 pages devoted to the 'ancient past'

Topic 'a' equals 10%

In order to be able to compare the results between different schoolbooks, the 'space-analysis' was based on a number of pre-defined categories for topics. The problem with such an approach is that not all of the topics are easily categorised. The results of the 'space-analysis' are therefore not exact measures but highlight certain trends.

2. Categorisation of schoolbook chapters/sections:

In order to gain an overview over the types of history the schoolbooks focus on, each section was assigned into a range of different categories (see 4.4.2.). In cases where a section fell into two or more categories it was indicated whether all categories were weighted equally. This was done on the basis of a 'one- or two-tick-system', in which dominant themes were counted double (two 'ticks') whereas minor themes only received one 'tick'. Finally, the number of 'ticks' in each category were totalled by percentage. It is important to stress the fact that the categorisation of sections is subjective; it depends largely on the researcher's

reading and understanding of the text. The results of the quantitative analysis should, therefore, be understood as rough indications rather than as hard facts.

Example:

Schoolbook A – total number of ‘ticks’ (all categories together: X, C and D): 1200

Schoolbook A – category X: 120 ticks = 10%

Schoolbook A – category C: 120 ticks = 10%

Schoolbook A – category D: 960 ticks = 80%

4.4.1.2. Qualitative methods

The qualitative parts of the analysis are based on the so called ‘descriptive-analytical/hermeneutic’-method. In these sections the content of schoolbooks and, to a lesser extent, curricula is analysed in much more detail than in quantitative parts. The qualitative analysis is concerned with ‘underlying assumptions’ (see 3.1.); it investigates how information is interpreted and evaluated, which messages, values and attitudes are communicated and promoted, and how information is presented (Pingel 1999: 45; Rohlfes 1985: 235).

The main criticism of the ‘descriptive-analytical/hermeneutic’-method is that it is very subjective. This manifests itself in four main ways: first, it is up to the schoolbook researcher to decide/determine the extent to which certain points/messages etc. are typical of the entire book and/or of public historical consciousness and national identity as a whole. Second, isolated quotes chosen by the schoolbook researcher can be used to support or ‘prove’ almost any argument. Third, the results of a ‘descriptive-analytical/hermeneutic’-analysis depend heavily on the interpretation of the schoolbook researcher; how they read and understand a text, what they are looking for in the text etc.. Fourth, it is possible that the schoolbook researcher misses/does not pick-up on some important points and/or focuses instead on less relevant issues (‘importance’/‘relevance’ is a matter of perception). These shortcomings are often made worse by the fact that researchers are not open/explicit about the analytical process which makes it impossible for readers to understand how certain conclusions were reached (Wieshöfer 1982: 53; Furrer 2004: 88-91; Rohlfes 1985: 241-3; Wimmert 1994: 41-4).

The subjective nature of qualitative schoolbook and curriculum research cannot be entirely overcome. This does not, however, mean that it is a futile exercise – if carried out properly and conscientiously schoolbook and curriculum research reveals a wealth of information about the society in which the educational media were produced. In this thesis two main methods were used to reduce the level of subjectivity and to make it possible for others to follow the analytical process:

1. In order to reach a level of standardisation and to make sure that the same issues were investigated in each set of books/curricula, each textbook/curriculum was addressed with the same set of pre-defined research/analysis questions. It is worth pointing out that during the course of the analysis these questions were slightly modified and expanded upon in order to accommodate the data – they did not, however, fundamentally change (note: this a common method and was, for example, used in a similar way by Rohlfes 1985: 235-65).
2. In order to make sure that readers can follow the analytical process as well as to avoid using ‘isolated quotes’, the results of the analysis were recorded meticulously in a pre-designed recording sheet (note: a few selected quotes are used in the footnotes of the main body of the thesis to illustrate key points. The non-translated versions of these quotes can be found in the recording sheets in the appendix). This sheet is divided into three main sections: the first part contains relevant quotes which give the reader a feeling for the book/curriculum. The second part contains primary notes (taken during the initial analytical process) and secondary notes (which summarise the primary notes) – both sets of notes are split into different sections based on the pre-defined research/analysis questions. The third part of the recording sheet contains the quantitative data (see Vol.II.3. and appendix).

Note: the recording sheets for the curriculum analysis are less detailed than those used in the schoolbook analysis. This is due to the fact that the information in the curricula is much more contained, manageable and accessible (usually between one paragraph and 3 pages compared to hundreds of pages in the textbook analysis).

To briefly elaborate on how the analytical process worked in practice: each set of schoolbooks was read twice – the first time no notes were taken, the main aim was to gain a ‘feeling’ for the book and become aware of how various issues are dealt with. In the ‘second reading’ relevant sections in the text were marked using different colours for different research questions. In the next step, these sections were re-read and recorded in the ‘primary notes’-section of the recording sheet. Furthermore, especially relevant quotes were chosen and also included in the recording sheet. Once all of the schoolbooks (note this step applies to schoolbooks only, not to curricula – far fewer notes were taken) were analysed in this way, the quotes and ‘primary notes’ for each set of textbooks were re-read and summarised in the ‘secondary note’-section of the recording sheet. In a final step the secondary notes for each set of schoolbooks were compared (referring back to the primary notes and/quotes where necessary) and the results were summarised in the main text of the thesis.

4.4.2. The specifics – ‘Operationalisation’

The analysis is split into two main parts: the first section is based on what the educational media say about the past and its relationship with the present in the widest sense; the second section is based on the actual historical narratives as presented in the curricula and schoolbooks.

In order to ensure a systematic approach and to make possible a comparison between the different curricula and schoolbooks, each part of the analysis deals with a number of pre-defined research areas and addresses a set of specific questions. The following section lists the analysis-questions; explains how each fits into wider research aims; and elaborates on which data sources (curricula and/or schoolbooks) are considered as well as on the approaches/methods (both qualitative and quantitative) used in order to answer the questions.

Analysis Section – Part I

Introductory/Aims and Objectives sections in educational media – what is being said about the past and its relationship with the present?

Both curricula and schoolbooks talk about the past; about how the three temporal dimensions are connected and about the functions that the past in general and history education in particular should fulfil in the present (which is, at the time the educational media are written, i.e. before circulation in the education system, actually the future). However, the way in which they do this is quite different: as discussed above, curricula are guidelines/instructions for teachers. As such, they usually outline – to varying degrees – the aims and objectives of history education, they specify how history education should influence the present (society as a whole as well as individual students) and how teachers should conduct their lessons in order to achieve certain goals. Schoolbooks, on the other hand, are written for students. They do not tend to elaborate on the functions and the role of history education as the schoolbook authors interpret and put into practice the curricula. Instead they write a particular historical narrative, one which is believed to meet the aims and objectives as outlined in the curricula. Some (or most) of the books do, however, introduce students to history as a school subject; they explain why history matters and why it is important to learn about the past.

These introductory/aims and objectives sections in schoolbooks and curricula provide valuable insights into how the three temporal dimensions are connected in the public historical consciousness, and whether and how this is – in the public view – linked to national identity. Furthermore, they offer a better understanding of the relationship between the public and the private sphere: how the curriculum and schoolbook authors (and by extension, the state) hope to influence private notions of historical consciousness and national identity by subjecting students to a particular historical narrative, and by teaching them about the past in a certain way. Additionally, direct comments on the relationship between the past and the present can be very helpful in

analysing and interpreting the actual historical narratives as presented in the educational media.

Specifically, the analysis focuses on following questions:

Question I.1.

What kind of historical consciousness is promoted in the curricula (for example, open/critical or closed)?

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question I.2.

Do the curricula suggest that history education should contribute to/foster a sense of national identity? If so, what kind of national identity do the curricula promote?

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question I.3.

Do the curricula specify that/explain why history education should focus on national history and/or on the history of other places in the world?

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question I.4.

Do the schoolbooks explain why history/the ‘ancient past’ is taught, why it is considered important? Is the past/history education explicitly linked to the students’ historical consciousness and sense of national identity?

References: Similar questions were raised, for instance, by Maehler et al. (1976: 69-70), Sommer (2002: 159) and Pingel (1999: 8).

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question I.5.

Do the schoolbooks state how the three temporal dimensions are believed to be connected? If so, what does tell us about the historical consciousness promoted in the books?

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Analysis Section – Part II

Historical narratives as presented in education media

Educational media contain deliberately constructed historical narratives; their content is carefully selected from a great range of information, it is interpreted and presented in a certain way and is moulded and fitted together so that it tells a particular story and communicates certain messages. It is important to understand that this thesis is not primarily concerned with the processes behind the creation of schoolbooks and curricula or with the factors and conditions influencing the way the historical narratives are being written and constructed. Instead, it works backwards – it looks at the historical narratives themselves and investigates what they can tell us about the public historical consciousness and national identity of the society that produced them. In order to do this, the historical narrative as presented in the educational media needs to be

deconstructed into separate components – four research areas are of particular interest in the context of this thesis, each is based on a number of analysis-questions:

Research Area 1

Content/‘Building-blocks’ of historical narratives – what are the historical narratives about?

In order to understand the relationship between particular historical narratives and notions of national identity in the present, it is important to establish what these narratives are actually about. Specifically, it is necessary to determine what role is ascribed to the ‘ancient past’; to investigate if it has a place in the historical narrative and, if so, determine which ‘ancient’ periods are considered particularly relevant. Furthermore, it is important to examine the degree to which ‘national history’ features in educational media as well as to establish the relationship between ‘national history’ and the ‘ancient past’, to find out whether the two are taught in conjunction with one another. Furthermore, it is necessary to explore which aspects of history the historical narratives tend to focus on.

Curricula and schoolbooks can be used in different ways to learn about the content/the ‘building-blocks’ of historical narratives. To elaborate: curricula, by their very nature, are much shorter than schoolbooks – they list the topics and subject headings which should be covered in history lessons but do not actually contain full historical narratives. As such, they provide a very good overview over the entire course of history education – for example, they are well suited to establish how much ‘ancient history’ is taught in comparison to ‘non-ancient history’. To try and gain a similarly comprehensive overview from schoolbooks would be far more laborious and time-consuming. However, because schoolbooks are so much more detailed they provide a much deeper insight into how certain topics (particular periods in the ‘ancient past’) are dealt with.

The analysis focuses on following questions:

Question II.1.1.

What role is ascribed to ‘ancient’/‘non-ancient’ history? To what extent do different periods feature in the historical narrative? How are the different periods incorporated into the historical narrative?

References: Similar questions were raised in a number of schoolbooks analyses – for example see:

- Marienfeld 1979, Maehler et al. 1976 and Sommer 2002 who explore how much space is devoted to prehistory in German schoolbooks.
- Huberti 1990, Hug 1992 and Soysal et al. 2005 who investigate how much modern history is taught in comparison to other periods.
- Marienfeld and Overesch 1986 who examine how much space is devoted to modern history in German history schoolbooks.
- von Borries 1990a who investigates how much room is allocated to the different ‘evolutionary steps’ in history.
- Firer and Adwan 2004 argue that looking at the structure of schoolbooks offers insights into how meaning narratives are constructed.
- Clarke and Bourdillon 1992: 101-2 suggest schoolbook research should investigate which subjects and themes are included in the books.

Section II.1.1.1.

- i. *How much ‘ancient history’ do the curricula propose should be taught in comparison to ‘non-ancient history’?*
- ii. *How much ‘ancient history’ do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?*
- iii. *Which ‘ancient’ periods do the curricula propose should be taught in history education? Which periods are considered important and which are not?*
- iv. *How much ‘non-ancient history’ do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?*
- v. *Which ‘non-ancient’ periods do the curricula propose should be taught in history education? Which periods are considered important and which are not?*
- vi. *Exceptions and ‘Other’.*

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Quantitative. In accordance with this method, each curriculum topic was assigned into one of the following categories (these are roughly based on Henson's analysis of current English, Welsh, Northern Irish and Scottish curricula – unpublished 2004), see Vol.II.2.1. for definitions:

1. Prehistory;
2. Early Civilisations of the East (ACE);
3. Ancient Greece;
4. The Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age;
5. Migration/Medieval Period (from the end of the Roman Empire to approximately 1500);
6. The Early Modern Period (from approximately 1500 to approximately 1870/1900);
7. The Modern Period (from approximately 1871/1900 to the Present);
8. Other (this category includes any topic that either does not fit into any of the other categories/periods or that covers more than one period).

In a second step, the topics in each category were assigned into one of the following groups:

- a) 'Ancient history' – including: prehistory, 'ACE', Ancient Greece, the Roman period/contemporary Late Iron Age.
- b) 'Non-ancient history' – including: the Migration period/Medieval period, the Early Modern period and Modern history.
- c) 'Other'.

Section II.1.1.2.

Which historical periods do the schoolbooks focus on? How are the different historical periods presented in the textbooks and how are they incorporated into the historical narrative?

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach:

1. Quantitative: the 'space analysis' examines how much room the schoolbooks allocate to the following periods:
 - a. Prehistory.
 - b. The Ancient Civilisations of the East (ACE).
 - c. The Greeks.
 - d. The Romans.
 - e. The Migration Period.
 - f. The Post-Migration Period in Germany and Europe.
 - g. The Post-Migration Period in other areas of the world(Definitions are largely based on those employed in the curriculum analysis, see above).
2. Qualitative.

Question II.1.2.

To what extent is 'national history' covered in the curricula? Furthermore, to what extent does 'non-national history' feature in the historical narrative? Does globalisation and 'post-nationalism' have an impact on the historical narrative that is being constructed in the curricula?

- i. **How much 'national' history do the curricula propose should be taught in comparison to 'non-national' history?**
- ii. **How much 'national history' do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?**
- iii. **More specifically, what kind of 'national' history do the curricula propose should be taught (i.e. do the curricula focus on German, local, German and European etc history)?**
- iv. **How much 'non-national history' do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?**
- v. **More specifically, what kind of 'non-national' history do the curricula propose should be taught (i.e. do the curricula focus on European, world etc history)?**
- vi. **Exceptions and 'Unspecified'.**

References: Similar questions were raised by a number of scholars – for example see: von Borries 1990a: 84-5; Jeismann 2000: 163; Jung-Paarmann and Thonhauser 1992: 107-8; Pingel 1998: 45-6; Soysal 2000: 130; Soysal et al. 2005: 14.

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Quantitative. In accordance with this method, each curriculum topic was assigned into one of the following categories (see Vol.II.2.2. for definitions of these categories):

1. Local history.
2. German history.
3. European history.
4. World history.
5. Local and German history.
6. Local and European history.
7. Local, German and European history.
8. German and European history.
9. German and world history.
10. German, European and world history.
11. European and world history.
12. All.
13. Unspecified.

In a second step, the topics in each category were assigned into one of the following groups:

- i. 'National history' - including all of the categories concerned with German and local history (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12).
- ii. 'Non-national history' – including all of the categories that do not deal with German and local history (3, 4, 11).
- iii. Unspecified.

Question II.1.3.

How do the results of II.1.1. and section II.1.2. relate to each other – which historical periods feature in the ‘national narrative’? To what extent is the ‘ancient past’ taught in conjunction with ‘national history’?

Section II.1.3.1.

- i. *Overview: to what extent is ‘ancient history’ taught in conjunction with ‘national’ / ‘non-national’ history?*
- ii. *Overview: to what extent is ‘non-ancient’ history taught in conjunction with ‘national’ / ‘non-national’ history?*
- iii. *To what extent are different historical periods taught in conjunction with ‘national’ / ‘non-national’ history?*
- iv. *To what extent is the history of different areas taught in conjunction with the ‘ancient’ / ‘non-ancient past’?*

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Quantitative.

Section II.1.3.2.

What role is ascribed ‘national history’ / ‘non-national history’ in the schoolbooks?

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative. Because this subject is explored in some detail in the curriculum analysis, it was decided not to quantify the amount of space devoted to ‘German’ (versus ‘non-German’) history in the textbooks. The aim of this section is, therefore, to provide a general indication of the extent to which the schoolbooks deal with ‘national history’ in relation to the ‘ancient past’ mainly by looking at the tables of content as well as by considering the results of the ‘space-analysis’ (see II.1.1.2.).

Question II.1.4.

Which types of history do the schoolbooks focus on?

References: Clarke and Bourdillon 1992: 101-2 have suggested that schoolbook research should investigate which subjects and themes are included in the textbooks.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Quantitative. In accordance with the method outlined in 4.4.1.1., each textbook-section was assigned into one or more of the following categories:

1. Economic history.
2. Social history.
3. Political history.
4. Military history.
5. Revolutionary history.
6. Cultural/religious history (this includes science, arts, technology and religion – the boundaries were too fluid to distinguish clearly between them).
7. Unspecified/other.

Research Area 2

Interpretations and Underlying Assumptions – and what they can tell us about the public historical consciousness and national identity

It is not enough to simply investigate what kind of information is included in the educational media. In order to properly understand the narratives that are being told and to establish how they are related to the public historical consciousness and national identity, one must also take into consideration how this information is interpreted and which are messages emphasised. In the context of this thesis it is especially important to explore which fundamental values are communicated in the educational media as well as to establish which views of/attitudes towards nations, states, groups and identities are promoted. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine in more detail how the ‘ancient past’ is made relevant to the nation’s present and to explore how the educational media deal with and define national ‘in’- and ‘out-groups’.

This part of the analysis is exclusively based on schoolbooks: the information provided in the curricula is not detailed enough to systematically look at interpretations and underlying assumptions. The analysis focuses on the following research questions:

Question II.2.1.

Whose perspective are the schoolbooks written from? Are students made to feel part of a particular group/are they ‘drawn into’ a particular group? Do the books use ‘homeland deixies’ to make students feel part of a particular group? Who are the ‘in’- and ‘out-groups’ and how are they defined? How does this relate of German national identity, the German ‘Volk’ and/or country?

References: Several scholars have asked similar questions and have explored similar issues – for example see: Berghahn and Schissler 1987: 15; Pingel 1999: 25-6, 47; Soysal 2000: 130.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question II.2.2.

Do the books deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’? If so, how?

- i. Who (which group) is portrayed as the heirs of the legacy of the ‘ancient past’? Whose past/heritage is it and to whom does it matter?**
- ii. What does the legacy of the ‘ancient past’ consist of? How is the ‘ancient past’ made relevant to modern life, which aspects of modern life are thought to be affected by the ‘ancient past’? To what extent is the ‘ancient past’ made relevant to modern life in Germany/the modern Germans?**

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative. The second part of the analysis is split into two main sections: the first part is concerned with general trends; the second looks at how these issues are dealt with in relation to 'German' history in particular.

Question II.2.3.

Do the schoolbooks provide any guidance, any particularly strong positive or negative examples? What messages and values are communicated in the books?

Reference: Values, evaluations and judgements are common themes in schoolbook analyses – for example see: Rohlfes (1985: 235-6), Weinbrenner (1992: 24-6) and Scholle (1992: 294-5).

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question II.2.4.

How do the textbooks deal with and evaluate 'groups', 'group-affiliations', identities, forms of socio-political organisation and nations – generally and in relation to German history in particular?

Reference: Pingel 1999: 25-6 recommends similar research questions/criteria; also see Pingel 1998: 27.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative. The analysis is split into two main sections: the first part is concerned with general trends; the second looks at how these issues are dealt with in relation to 'German' history in particular.

Question II.2.5.

How do the books deal with states? Do the books present students with an overview/an introduction to different political systems? Do the authors explain how different states are administered, how they operate? Are these judged/evaluated – i.e. do the authors explain to students what they believe makes a good state and what does not, what strengthens and what weakens states?

Reference: Similar questions were raised by Soysal 2000: 130.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question II.2.6.

How do the schoolbooks deal with the ‘homeland’? In particular, how is the German’ landscape and homeland is presented the schoolbooks? Do the books promote an attachment to the German homeland? And, if so how is this done?

Reference: Furrer 2004: 47 asked similar questions in his study on Swiss schoolbooks.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Research Area 3

General ideas about the course of history, historical processes and dynamics

In order to gain a better understanding of the public historical consciousness and the nature of the historical narratives presented in the educational media, it is important to

explore the underlying assumptions about historical processes and dynamics, asking: is history seen as a linear movement of time? What drives history, where is it heading and which factors are initiating change? Furthermore, to what extent is the course of history pre-determined and subject to universal laws? How much room is there for agency?

Curricula provide a general overview of the whole course of history education and the overall structure of the historical narrative. Schoolbooks, on the other hand, are much better suited to look at these issues in more detail and to gain deeper insights into the underlying assumptions.

The analysis focuses on two main questions:

Question II.3.1.

Is history taught in chronological order? If not, how is it taught?

Source: Curricula.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question II.3.2.

How do the textbooks portray historical processes and dynamics?

References: Similar issues were explored by Maehler et al. 1976 in their study on the representation of the ancient past in German history schoolbooks. Furthermore, Scholle 1992: 294-5 raised similar questions in his article.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Research Area 4

Didactics and how the schoolbooks interact with students

Historical consciousness cannot be understood by looking at the content and the interpretations of historical information alone; the nature of the historical consciousness is largely determined by the underlying understanding of, and approaches to, historical work and information: is history considered to be fact, or is it seen as something subjective, fluid and open? Additionally, it is interesting to explore whether didactical tools are used to emphasise, reinforce and/or create links between the past and the present.

The analysis focuses on two main questions:

Question II.4.1.

Are there any references to the present (or the future)? If so, in which contexts do they appear and what purposes do they serve? Do they tell us anything about the way the three temporal dimensions are connected?

Reference: Similar questions were asked by Scholle 1992: 294-5.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Question II.4.2

Do students learn about the work with historical sources? Is history presented as fact?

References: Similar questions were raised by several schoolbook researchers – for example see: Clarke and Bourdillon 1992: 101-2; Jeismann and Schönemann 1989:

23:4; Maehler et al. 1976; Pingel 1998: 45-6; Pingel 1999: 27-8, 47; Rohlfes 1985: 261; Scholle 1992: 294-5; Weinbrenner 1992: 23-6; Wieshöfer 1982: 76.

Source: Schoolbooks.

Method/approach: Qualitative.

Chapter 5

The Curriculum and Schoolbook Analysis

Please see appendix for recording sheets.

Analysis Section – Part I

Introductory/Aims and Objectives sections in educational media – what is being said about the past and its relationship with the present?

Question I.1.

What kind of historical consciousness is promoted in the curricula (for example, open/critical or closed)?

Bavaria

Connections between the three temporal dimensions: All of the Bavarian curricula – to a greater or lesser extent and more or less explicitly – specify that history education should help students to orientate themselves in time. The way this is presented and articulated varies slightly between the curricula. However, essentially all of the curricula suggest that knowledge of the past should help students to understand the present, to orientate themselves in the world as well as to find and define their roles in modern society. In addition, some of the curricula (especially the 1969 and the 2001 editions) make direct references to the future – for example, the authors of the 1969 curriculum suggest that an understanding of the connections between the past and the present should enable students to successfully plan for the future. Furthermore, all of the more recent curricula (the 1980, 1993 and 2001 editions) argue that orientation in time should help students to develop their sense of identity (not necessarily national identity – see below).

Nature of historical consciousness – open or closed: The analysis showed that most of the Bavarian curricula, more or less explicitly, acknowledge the fact that the past is important to the present and that, as such, it can be abused and turned into a political weapon. There is a general consensus among the majority of the curricula that this must be avoided at any cost. The curricula do not, however, tend to systematically discuss the problem and develop convincing and comprehensive strategies on how to deal with the objectivity/subjectivity issue. Most of the curricula imply and somewhat vaguely suggest that the development of certain skills would help the situation. For example, the 1961 curriculum proposes that students should learn to fairly evaluate the past and that this can be achieved by teaching history in an objective and matter-of-fact manner. The more recent curricula, on the other hand, adopt a slightly different stance: they argue that the only way to overcome the problem is to promote a critical historical consciousness (characteristic of democratic societies – 2001 curriculum), that history education should teach students how to think critically as well as to understand and respect different perspectives, opinions and interpretations of the past.

Historical processes and dynamics: Finally, it is worth mentioning that the 1961 and the 1969 curricula both specify that history should be taught in terms of general processes and laws; and that teachers should use particular examples to illustrate more general developments. Other curricula – especially the 1980s edition – are more concerned with the particularities of certain developments. They stress the fact that historical processes and events are dependent on their spatial and temporal context.

GDR

Connections between the three temporal dimensions: The GDR curricula argue that knowledge of the past should help students to understand the present, to find their place within the modern world order and to acquire a firm set of values and political convictions. Specifically, history education should convince students of – as well as animate them to fight for – socialism (this is particularly pronounced in the post-1947 curricula). Most of the curricula suggest that this can be achieved by making students understand themselves as being part of – or, better, a link in – the chain of the progressive forces in history that led/will lead to the establishment of socialism (this is

an especially prominent theme in the 1960s curricula). Furthermore, some of the curricula (mostly the 1955 and the 1988 editions) stress the fact that history education should provide role-models for students; that students should be confronted with important and great figures in (socialist) history and learn to aspire to emulate them. In connection to this, the two most recent curricula (1960s and 1988) propose that history education should provide moral, ideological and political guidance and support for students (in a socialist manner). Finally, the 1960s curricula propose that an understanding of the connection between the past and the present enables students to successfully plan for a socialist future.

Nature of historical consciousness – open or closed: The analysis showed that the GDR curricula very much promote a Marxist-Leninist view of history and a socialist historical consciousness. This manifests itself in a number of ways:

- **Focus on historical progress in a Marxist-Leninist sense:** All of the curricula (possibly with the exception of the 1947 edition) more or less explicitly argue that the subject should be taught according to the Marxist-Leninist view of history; that students should learn about the universal laws in history and that they should develop a positive view of historical progress. In addition, the 1988 curriculum stresses the fact that students need to understand that the historical progress achieved so far can only be preserved and expanded on through the development of/fight for socialism.
- **Emphasis on strong emotions:** This is particularly prominent in the 1955 and the 1960s curricula – basically, the authors suggest that history education should evoke feelings of solidarity, pride and love for the progressive forces in history; for the working-classes and their struggle. By extension, students should be animated to hate and feel disgust for those who hindered and slowed down historical progress, for the reactionary forces.
- **Value-judgements:** The 1960s curricula specify that students should learn to make value-judgements, to decide – on the basis of the socialist ideology and value system – whether certain events, developments etc. in past were positive or negative. It is important to understand that this cannot be understood as an acknowledgement or a proactive way of dealing with the subjectivity of

historical work and interpretations. Rather, the curricula imply that there is only one way to evaluate the past – ‘science’ demonstrates what is right and what is wrong (much like maths – there is only one correct answer). Furthermore, the other curricula do not deal with the objectivity/subjectivity issue at all.

Historical processes and dynamics: All of the curricula (except the 1988 edition) stress the interconnectedness of history – they all suggest that it is important for students to understand that historical developments and events in different areas of the world have an impact on world history and general historical processes. It is the aim of all of the curricula to teach students about these general historical processes, about the universal laws in history according to the Marxist-Leninist view of history. In addition, the 1947 and the 1960s curricula specify that individual examples should be used to illustrate wider developments.

Post-Unification Saxony

Connections between the three temporal dimensions: The two Saxon curricula argue that knowledge of the past helps students to understand the present and to orientate themselves in the modern world. In addition, the 2004 curriculum states that an understanding of the connection between the past and the present enables students to plan for, and deal with, the future.

Nature of historical consciousness – open or closed: The objectivity/subjectivity question is only directly addressed in the 2004 curriculum: the authors stress the need for students to understand that interpretations of history depend on their context and that, as such, there can never be only one version of the past. Furthermore, like their contemporary Bavarian counterparts, both Saxon curricula focus on critical thinking (this is an especially prominent theme in the 2004 edition) – they specify that history education should enable students to form their own opinions and judgements as well as to make independent evaluations and decisions. According to the curricula these skills prepare students for life in a democratic society.

Historical processes and dynamics: The 1992 Saxon curriculum suggests that history education should focus on the interconnectedness of history; individual examples should be used to illustrate wider historical processes.

Summary/comparison

All of the curricula stress the fact that history education should play an important role in the socialisation of young people; they all suggest that it fulfils an important 'orientation-function' and that knowledge of the past helps students understand the present and enables them to find their place in the modern world order. All three sets of curricula – to a greater or lesser degree, more or less explicitly – prescribe or suggest a desired outcome of this orientation and socialisation process: the GDR curricula promote a Marxist-Leninist historical consciousness and world view whereas the early Bavarian curricula aim for a matter-of-fact, free-of-emotions approach to history in an attempt to move away from abuses and distortions of the past characteristic of totalitarian regimes (particularly Nazi Germany). The Saxon and the most recent Bavarian curricula, on the other hand, promote a more critical and open historical consciousness (i.e. there is not only one version and interpretation of the past); a historical consciousness which they argue is suited for, and characteristic of, life in a democratic society (note: this change in approach is probably due to developments in international research – post-modernism and its legacy etc.). In other words, all three sets of curricula foster a historical consciousness which matches and supports their respective political system and ideology – although this is much more pronounced and obvious in the GDR books than in their FRG counterparts.

Question 1.2.

Do the curricula suggest that history education should contribute to/foster a sense of national identity? If so, what kind of national identity do the curricula promote?

Bavaria

With the exception of the 1961 curriculum, none of the Bavarian curricula explicitly state that history education should foster a sense of national identity. The 1969, the 1993 and the 2001 curricula do, however, suggest that history education should help students to develop a general sense of identity and feelings of belonging. Furthermore, the civic ‘building-block’ of national identity and the issue of citizenship is indirectly tackled in some of the curricula which specify that history lessons should contribute to the political education of students; that they should prepare students for life in a democratic society. This is especially prominent in the 1969, the 1980s and the 2001 curricula.

The 1961 edition is the only Bavarian curriculum which directly addresses the question of German citizenship and national identity. It specifies that history education should help students to understand the challenges and the duties faced by the German people and to act accordingly; history education should equip pupils with the knowledge and skills needed to deal with problems and situations they will encounter in their lives as German citizens.

GDR

Unlike their Bavarian counterparts, all of the GDR curricula specify the role history education should play in the formation/creation of students’ national identities. Although all of the curricula formulate similar goals, they adopt slightly different approaches. To elaborate:

- **1947 curriculum:** History education should contribute to the development of a democratic national identity based on pride for the progressive forces in history and respect for other cultures. Furthermore, the curriculum specifies that history education should aim for students to become active and convinced democrats.
- **1955 curriculum:** History education should help students to develop patriotic feelings. They should learn to have faith in the GDR, to love their ‘peaceful and

socialist fatherland' and to feel connected to, and to be proud of, the progressive forces in history.

- **1960s curricula:** These curricula contain very specific requirements and fairly detailed specifications of the kind of national identity history education should promote – to summarise:
 - Students should develop a positive view of the GDR.
 - Students should develop a sense of socialist patriotism and internationalism.
 - Students should understand the tasks and duties faced by GDR citizens and learn to have faith in the party leadership.
 - Students must understand that national interests equal those of the working-classes and that the proletarian revolution is a necessity.
 - History education should prepare students to defend their socialist fatherland against enemies.
- **1988 curricula:** The aims outlined in this curriculum are similar to those specified in the 1960s editions – history education should inspire love for the socialist fatherland and faith in the SED as well as foster a sense of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Post-Unification Saxony

Neither of the two Saxon curricula explicitly specifies the role history education should play in the formation/creation of national identities. The issue is, however, addressed indirectly in the sense that both curricula suggest that history lessons should contribute to the students' political education: as mentioned above, the curricula greatly focus on 'critical thought' and propose that in teaching students to judge, evaluate and think about things analytically and critically, they prepare them for their lives in a democratic society. Additionally, the 2004 curriculum suggests that history education should introduce pupils to a range of different perspectives, traditions, norms and values. The authors propose that a confrontation with different ways of lives helps students to develop and define their own sense of identity.

Summary/comparison

Generally, it can be said that the FRG curricula are not greatly concerned with national identities; they do not explicitly ascribe a clear role to history education in the formation/creation of the students' sense of national identity. The issue is, however, raised implicitly in the sense that most of the FRG curricula suggest that history lessons should contribute to the students' political education and, by extension, to the development of their sense of citizenship. The GDR curricula, on the other hand, are very specific regarding the kind of national identity history education should foster and encourage. Whereas the 1947 edition concentrates on the development of a democratic identity, the later curricula specify the promotion of a socialist national identity – students need to become convinced socialists and faithful citizens of the GDR. Interestingly, none of the curricula – at least not in this context – raise the question of how to deal with the respective other Germany; how the division of the country affects/should affect people's sense of national identity.

Question I.3.

Do the curricula specify that/explain why history education should focus on national history and/or on the history of other places in the world?

Bavaria

World history: Only the 1961 and the 1969 curricula specifically mention world history. The 1961 curriculum suggests that it is important to teach world history as students need to learn to see the world as a whole; they need to understand the world as a community of people in which all human-beings are included. The 1969 curriculum proposes a similar view: it argues that students need to be aware of the fact that everyone has an impact on world history and that, by extension, everyone has a responsibility towards the whole of humanity.

European history: Only the 1969, the 1980s and the 2001 curricula explicitly comment on how and why European history should be taught in schools. The 1980s edition argues that history education should focus on the 'Occident'; that the Christian-Occidental culture is especially important to the students' reality. Similarly, the 2001 curriculum argues that European history should represent an integral part of the students' education as it helps them to understand their roots and, by extension, to cope with the modern global society.

German history: Only the 1961 and the 1969 curricula specify how national history should be taught. The 1969 edition directly connects the teaching of German history to the issue of national identity: it proposes that while German history should be taught free of false glory, it should not simply be about historical guilt either – students should learn to be proud of the German people and their achievements. At the same time, it stresses the importance of teaching national history within its international (especially Occidental) context. The 1961 curriculum deals with the issue in less detail. It proposes that German history should not be taught in isolation, that it must be seen in its international context.

Local history: The 1961, the 1980s and the 2001 curricula all specify that local history should represent an important theme in history education. They all, however, give slightly different reasons for this. The 1980s curricula argue that local history is closer to the students' personal experience and that it, therefore, represents a good basis or starting-point for history education. The 2001 curriculum, on the other hand, suggests that the promotion of local identities and traditions helps students to cope with the globalised modern world.

Finally, most of the curricula (see 1961, 1969, 1980s and 2001) suggest that history education should teach students about foreign cultures and ways of life – students should learn to develop an interest in different cultures and to have respect for other peoples, countries, values and practices (this is especially pronounced in the 1961 and in the 1980s curricula).

GDR

World history: The introductory sections of the curricula do not specify why or how world history should be taught.

European history: The curricula do not specify why or how world history should be taught.

German history: All of the curricula specify that history education should focus on national history. German history should, however, not be viewed in isolation but must be considered within its international context (note: in the 1988 curriculum international context is largely, but not exclusively, defined as Soviet and socialist history). Additionally, the curricula stress following points:

- **1947 curriculum:** German history must be taught in a way which does not lead to a false sense of superiority. Students must understand that other peoples and countries greatly contributed to the development of German history.
- **The 1960s curricula:** This set of curricula reiterates the fact that history education needs to focus on German history (read: on the socialist version of the national narrative) in order to explain to students the current political order.
- **1988 curriculum:** The foundation of the GDR must be presented as a great turning-point in history; as the result of the work and struggle of all progressive forces in history.

Local history: Except for the 1955 curriculum, all of the GDR curricula comment on how local history should be taught in schools. However, they all emphasise slightly different points:

- **1947 curriculum:** Local history should feature in history education but must be connected to wider historical processes and developments – especially in German history.
- **1960s curricula:** Teachers should use local examples to illustrate certain points as well as wider developments.

- **1988 curriculum:** Local history is considered to be very important and teachers are animated to devote more time to it.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula adopt somewhat different approaches: the 1992 curriculum specifies that history education should focus on German and local history but stresses the importance of viewing national history within its international context. The 2004 edition, on the other hand, suggests that in the light of growing European integration, history education should focus on European history – local and national examples can/should, however, be used.

Furthermore, like their Bavarian counterparts, the two Saxon curricula propose that history education should introduce students to foreign cultures, values and traditions – students should learn to respect other ways of life (1992 curriculum) and it is hoped that a confrontation with different practices will help them to form and define their own identity (2004 curriculum).

Summary/comparison

It was observed that generally the GDR curricula are more focused on German history and are more explicit about how national history should be taught and the role it should play in history education than their FRG counterparts. The GDR curricula promote very much a socialist German historical narrative. Additionally, it can be argued that several of the FRG and GDR curricula are trying to distance themselves from the National Socialist approach to history (note: this is explicitly stated in the 1947 GDR curriculum) – they all specify/warn against teaching national history in isolation and a number of curricula explicitly state that the portrayal of the German past should not lead to a false sense of superiority. Furthermore, most of the curricula focus on the importance of international (European and world) history and its impact on Germany. At the same time, some of the curricula – both in Bavaria and in the GDR – suggest that history

education should highlight the positive developments in German history; that students should feel good about the German past. The analysis showed that especially the most recent Bavarian and Saxon editions place considerable emphasis on preparing students for life in an increasingly globalised society – both curricula suggest that the development of a European identity and an understanding of European history will help students to form attachments and feelings of belonging in an ‘uprooted’ world.

Question I.4.

Do the schoolbooks explain why history/the ‘ancient past’ is taught, why it is considered important? Is the past/history education explicitly linked to the students’ historical consciousness and sense of national identity?

Bavaria

None of the Bavarian schoolbooks discuss the reasons for teaching history in any detail. Some of the books offer brief explanations which usually do not exceed the length of a paragraph (B2, B3, B5 and B6), others do not offer any explanation at all (this is true for B4 and the two latest Bavarian textbooks, B7 and B8).

So what reasons are given for studying history in those schoolbooks which do contain explicit statements or explanations? Although the exact phrasing and level of detail varies slightly between the books, all of them essentially stress that knowledge of the past helps students to understand the present; that people in the present are always influenced by their predecessors and ancestors and always build on what is already there (or better, what has been created in the past). In other words, the books argue that history education helps students orientate themselves in time and to comprehend the world around them (by learning about its origins and development); that it enables students to live their lives in the modern world and to decide on suitable causes of action.

B5 and B6 provide slightly more information on the topic than B2 and B3. They explicitly state that students do not need to know everything about history, and that it is sufficient if they learn about the ‘significant’ historical events, periods and

developments (read: those which are considered especially relevant to the present). In short, B5 and B6 argue for a selective approach to the past but do not discuss the criteria for, or, the subjective nature of the selection process itself.

B5 and B6 explicitly state that history education should provide students with role-models and teach them how and how not live their lives. The books do not, however, specify who decides what can be classed as a 'good' or a 'bad' example; they do not discuss the subjective nature of evaluation processes³.

In summary, with reference to those books which do contain explicit reasons for teaching history, the analysis showed that history education is believed to be very relevant to the present and that it is very much connected to issues of identity and historical consciousness. These issues are, however, not discussed or explained in any detail, they are not questioned and as such the textbooks leave a range of important questions unanswered: whose present, whose reality do students need to understand? Who decides what is 'significant' and why? Who selects which topics are taught and why? Whose past is relevant to whom and why? Who decides what is 'good' or 'bad' and why? Whose values are communicated in the book and why?

Additionally, it is important to ask why half of the Bavarian schoolbooks do not offer any explanation at all of why history is taught, why it is relevant to the present and how it is connected to issues of identity and historical consciousness. This is especially interesting considering that all of the books introduce history as a new subject. One possible explanation for this situation is that authors do not feel the need to justify the teaching of history; that they do not question their reasons, and take them for granted.

³ "Every person, every family, every people has its own history. Much of what has occurred over the course of time is of no significance and has been rightly forgotten. Nevertheless, the human race has managed to amass a wealth of experience definitely worth remembering, even in this age of atomic power and space travel. [...] You will begin to see that historical events are interconnected and unfold according to certain 'natural laws'. History is the story of humankind; a story which both preserves and lays bear everything – both good and evil – we as humans are capable of. It also shows us that the world in which we live did not arrive at its present form simply by coincidence. In an ongoing, ceaseless process, each generation learns from its forefathers: we Europeans, for example, owe an immeasurable debt to the Romans; the Romans owed an immeasurable debt to the Ancient Greeks; and they, in turn, owed an immeasurable debt to the peoples of the Orient. And the same applies to your life, too. It did not simply begin the day you were born – it is deeply rooted in the past. Therefore, if you wish to understand the present, you must learn about the past" (B5a: 7).

GDR

With the exception of GDR2 and GDR3, all of the GDR schoolbooks contain explanations of why history is taught in schools. Although these explanations are very brief, they are generally slightly more elaborate than those in their Bavarian counterparts.

Similar to the Bavarian books the GDR schoolbooks stress the fact that knowledge of the past benefits/is vital for life in the present; that history education helps students to orientate themselves in time. GDR1 and GDR4, for instance, point out that knowledge of the past helps students to understand the current world order. Very closely related to this is the notion of 'learning from the past' – a theme particularly prominent in the later GDR books (GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6). According to this view, history teaches students about what went wrong in the past and what went well. This knowledge enables them to formulate aims for the future (to pursue a better future) and to act and live their lives accordingly⁴.

The two latest GDR books (GDR5 and GDR6) take this notion further and explicitly argue that history not only helps students to understand the present but that it specifically justifies the existence of the GDR and socialism – both are seen as the necessary outcome of historical processes. Furthermore, it is argued in these two books that knowledge of the past helps students to understand how to positively shape the present and the future of their socialist fatherland⁵.

According to the GDR schoolbooks history education provides examples of positive and negative practices and developments; it presents students with guidelines and role-models. This is similar to B5 and B6 but is made slightly more explicit in the GDR books.

⁴ "Exploring and evaluating the past in history class therefore allows us to reach a better understanding of the present. Learning about the causes and effects of events, as well as about particular historical contexts, enables us to correctly evaluate present-day events and contexts. In this way, we can work creatively and make a contribution to shaping our lives, both now and in the future" (GDR 4a: 4).

⁵ "We today are engaged in the joint endeavour of living through and shaping the history of our republic. We can only carry out this task with all our might if we learn from the lives and struggles of those who have gone before us. This is an important reason for the study of history" (GDR 5a:6).

In summary, the GDR books touch upon issues closely connected to identity and historical consciousness. The framework within which this takes place is somewhat more explicit and easily accessible than in the Bavarian books. The GDR textbooks (especially the more recent editions) openly promote a socialist – and in some cases, a specific GDR – identity and historical consciousness (without using these exact terms) based on socialist values and the Marxist-Leninist view of history. Like their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR books do not question their interpretative framework and, unlike some of the Bavarian books, they do not mention the selective and subjective nature of historical writing. Furthermore, it is worth noting that two of the GDR books do not explicitly state why history is taught and why it is considered important.

Post-Unification Saxony

Unlike their two contemporary Bavarian counterparts, both Saxon schoolbooks briefly outline why history is taught and why it is considered important. Like the GDR and especially the Bavarian textbooks, the Saxon books argue that the present is very much based on the past and that, as such, history education should help students to understand the present. Additionally, the authors of S2 explicitly state that an understanding of the past and the present will encourage students to actively and positively shape future⁶.

Much like B5 and B6 the two Saxon books stress the fact that particular periods, events and developments in history are especially relevant to the students' understanding of the present. In other words, the authors suggest that students do not need to know about everything that happened in the past but should focus on a few specific periods/events etc.⁷.

⁶ "History is in the making right at this moment and we are an active part of it; the course of history is not predetermined. Your judgements and decisions will also have an influence on the shape of future history, on the shape of your future. This is another reason why it is important to learn from history" (S2a: 15).

⁷ "Admittedly, there are huge gaps in our knowledge of history, but even so, what we do know about earlier epochs would be sufficient to fill thousands of volumes. For this reason, we, the authors of this book, were obliged to restrict ourselves to a select number of topics, the study of which we consider to be particularly useful and important to those wishing to come to a better understanding of the present" (S1a:6).

Furthermore, S2 emphasises the importance of 'learning from the past'. It is suggested that the future is not pre-destined, that it is the people of the present who shape the future – and although situations and times change, it is possible to learn from the past, to consolidate past experiences in order to deal with new challenges and to learn how to best go about creating a peaceful world order. As discussed above, 'learning from the past' is also an important theme in some of the GDR schoolbooks. Interestingly, both the GDR books as well as S2 more or less specifically prescribe which lessons should be learned (i.e. 'peace' in the case of S2 and 'socialism' in the case of the GDR books).

Again, the analysis showed that history education in Saxony touches upon issues very closely related to identity and historical consciousness. However, similarly to the Bavarian books these issues are not explicitly/directly addressed or dealt with.

Summary/comparison

Not all of the Bavarian and GDR textbooks explain to students why they are learning about the past and why the past matters to them. Those schoolbooks that do, tend to stress similar points: knowledge of the past is crucial for understanding the present, for defining oneself in the modern world. However, the analysis showed that the way in which students are intended to define themselves and the lessons they are encouraged to learn from the past, differ considerably between the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks. Whereas the GDR books (either directly or indirectly) promote a socialist (and, in the case of GDR5 and GDR6, a GDR) identity, the FRG books are more open, non-committal and do not tend to specify how knowledge of the past should guide students or where it should lead them.

Question 1.5.

Do the schoolbooks state how the three temporal dimensions are believed to be connected? If so, what does this tell us about the historical consciousness promoted in the books?

Bavaria

Only half of the Bavarian schoolbooks (B2, B3, B5 and B6) explicitly state how they believe the three temporal dimensions to be connected. Despite some minor variations, the argument in all four books is essentially the same: people need to know about the past in order to understand the present and – this is mostly implied – to be able to plan for the future. In other words, the books suggest that history education helps students to orientate themselves in time and, by extension, to decide on suitable causes of action.

Furthermore, the four Bavarian textbooks which do not explicitly deal with the connections between the three temporal dimensions are also greatly concerned with ‘orientation in time’ – all of the books deal with the legacy of the past, the origins of certain groups, cultures and practices etc. (this is discussed further below. II.2.2.).

In summary, all of the Bavarian books focus on certain (carefully selected) connections and continuities in time. According to the books, the past either directly shapes and affects people in present and the future (see II.2.2.) and/or it indirectly influences the present as it helps people to evaluate situations and conditions by looking back on collective experiences (it offers guidance).

GDR

The first three GDR schoolbooks (GDR1, GDR2 and GDR3) do not explicitly state how they believe the three temporal dimensions to be connected; the last three textbooks explicitly deal with the subject. They argue that the past explains and legitimises the present, i.e. the socialist world order and the existence of the GDR. History teaches ‘us’ that socialism is the only just and right solution, that only socialism can bring an end to suffering and exploitation. In other words – and this is also very visible in those books which do not explicitly state this – the GDR textbooks argue that knowledge of the past helps students to evaluate the present, to define their actions in the present and to successfully plan for the future. Whereas the principle is similar to that displayed in the Bavarian schoolbooks, the parameter is very different: the GDR books adopt a much more deterministic view of history and much more explicitly define the framework of

orientation; they dictate more forcefully the lessons to be learned from the past and the actions to be taken in the present and in the future⁸.

Post-Unification Saxony

Both Saxon books explain how they believe the three temporal dimensions to be connected. The two books quite closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts in the sense that they both focus on 'orientation in time'. To elaborate: S1 states that it is crucial to know about the past in order to understand the present. Furthermore, it argues that it is impossible to know all of history; that it is sufficient to focus on a few examples which are particularly relevant to the present (read: 'our' present). S2, on the other hand, emphasises the fact that the past shapes the present and that it will also shape the future. Additionally, the book stresses the fact that it is 'our' decisions and actions which determine what is happening in the present and, more importantly, what is going to happen in the future. Furthermore, according to S2, knowledge of the past and collective experience offers guidance to people in the present⁹.

Summary/comparison

⁸ "Historical research explains to us how and why people at specific times and in specific countries lived so differently. It enables us to understand how we came to be creating Socialism. The purpose of history lessons is, therefore, to enable us to better understand the present by investigating and thinking about the past. Exploring and evaluating the past in history class therefore allows us to reach a better understanding of the present. Learning about the causes and effects of events, as well as about particular historical contexts, enables us to correctly evaluate present-day events and contexts. In this way, we can work creatively and make a contribution to shaping our lives, both now and in the future" (GDR4a: 4).
„We today are engaged in the joint endeavour of living through and shaping the history of our republic. We can only carry out this task with all our might if we learn from the lives and struggles of those who have gone before us. This is an important reason for the study of history“ (GDR5a: 6).

⁹ "We are living in history – For many centuries now, people have been shaping their lives and the world they live in. It would have been impossible for the world we live in to come about without the efforts and decisions of our forefathers. That is why we say: We have our history. [...] And history will continue along with us – it is not predetermined. Your judgements and decisions too will play a part in shaping the history of the future, and in shaping your own future. This is another important reason for learning from history. A stone, once thrown, does not return to the hand which threw it. But examples from past history can maybe teach us how to create a peaceful future history for mankind" (S2a: 15).

"All human beings are a part of history. They live with the things their forefathers created and left behind: buildings, cities, inventions, etc. You too are a part of history, and history will continue – carrying you along with it and being affected by you. The manner in which history will proceed is not fixed, it is open. You can influence the course of history through your decisions and actions" (S2a: 15).

With a few exceptions, most of the schoolbooks explicitly state how they believe the three temporal dimensions to be connected. The analysis showed that all three sets of textbooks suggest that knowledge of the past helps people to understand the present, to define themselves in the world as well as to plan for the future. It was, however, observed that the GDR textbooks adopt a much more deterministic view of history and much more explicitly define the framework of orientation than their FRG counterparts; they dictate more forcefully the lessons to be learned from the past and the actions to be taken in the present and in the future.

<p style="text-align: center;">Analysis Section – Part II</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Historical narratives as presented in education media</p>

Research Area 1

Content/‘Building-blocks’ of historical narratives – what are the historical narratives about?

Question II.1.1.

What role is ascribed to ‘ancient’/‘non-ancient’ history? To what extent do different periods feature in the historical narrative? How are the different periods incorporated into the historical narrative?

Note: Please see Vol.II.4.1. for tables and figures.

Section II.1.1.1.

i. How much ‘ancient history’ do the curricula propose should be taught in comparison to ‘non-ancient history’?

The analysis showed that in all of the pre-1990 curricula – both from Bavaria and the GDR – ‘non-ancient history’ is the most important category, followed by ‘ancient history’, while ‘other’ represents the least extensively covered category. It is, however, noticeable that the gap between ‘non-ancient’ and ‘ancient history’ is generally much greater in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts. Furthermore, it was observed that the distribution changes slightly in the more recent curricula (from 1990s onwards): in these curricula ‘other’ represents an increasingly important category, becoming as (or more) important than ‘ancient history’.

ii. How much 'ancient history' do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?

Bavaria

The Bavarian curricula can be roughly split into two main groups:

- **Early curricula (1950, 1961 and 1969):** Approximately one quarter of the topics were categorised as 'ancient history'.
- **More recent curricula (1980s, 1993 and 2001):** Only between 17% (1980s) and 6% (1993) of the topics were categorised as 'ancient history' (note: the degree of variation between the curricula is greater in this second group than in the early curricula).

GDR

The GDR curricula, too, fall into two main groups:

- **The 1947 curriculum:** This curriculum closely resembles the early Bavarian curricula – approximately one quarter of the topics were categorised as 'ancient history'.
- **The remaining three curricula (1955, 1960s and 1988):** Considerably fewer topics (11%) deal with the 'ancient past' in the later GDR curricula than in the 1947 GDR edition or in the early Bavarian curricula; they more closely resemble the second group of Bavarian curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula differ considerably in the importance that they ascribe to 'ancient history':

- **The 1992 curriculum:** 15% of the topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’ – more than in its immediate GDR predecessor (11%) and its contemporary Bavarian counterpart (6%). The curriculum most closely resembles the 1980s Bavarian edition (which may have served as a template/model for the new Saxon curriculum).
- **The 2004 curriculum:** Only 3% of the topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’ – far fewer than in the 1992 Saxon curriculum and approximately the same as in the 1993 Bavarian curriculum (6%).

Summary/comparison

Generally, none of the curricula ascribe a very important role to the ‘ancient past’ – only between 25% and 3% of the curriculum topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the ‘ancient past’ has decreased in significance over the years; that it featured more prominently in the early Bavarian editions and the first GDR curriculum than in later years.

iii. Which ‘ancient’ periods do the curricula propose should be taught in history education? Which periods are considered important and which are not?

Prehistory

Bavaria

In all of the Bavarian curricula ‘prehistory’ is – together with the ‘ACE’, see below – the least extensively covered period: only between 0 and 4% of the topics deal with the subject.

GDR

Generally, 'prehistory' is ascribed a more important place in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts: it is either the most or the second most prominent 'ancient' category. Interestingly, this increased importance does not have a great impact on the number of topics that deal with the subject – only between 4 and 5% of the topics were categorised as 'prehistory' (compared to 0% - 2% in most of the Bavarian curricula, 4% in the 1961 edition).

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon curricula very closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts – only between 1 and 2% of the topics were categorised as 'prehistory'. It is, however, important to note that the 2004 Saxon curriculum differs slightly from the 1992 edition as well as from the Bavarian curricula in the sense that 'prehistory' is not treated as less important than the other 'ancient' periods; all of the 'ancient' categories are equally unimportant.

'ACE' (Ancient Civilisations of the East)

In all three sets of curricula, the 'ACE' account for only 0-3% of the topics concerned with 'ancient history' and is either the smallest or the second smallest 'ancient' category.

Ancient Greece

Bavaria

'Ancient Greece' is either the most or the second most extensively covered 'ancient' period: between 4 and 7% of the topics deal with subject. Whereas the number of topics

decreases very subtly over the years, the level of importance in comparison to other 'ancient' periods increases slightly.

GDR

'Ancient Greece' is less represented in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts: the category is most extensively covered in the 1947 curriculum (4%) and hardly features after that (between 0 and 1%); it is the smallest 'ancient' category in all of the post-1947 curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

In the 1992 Saxon edition 'Ancient Greece' is – together with the 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age' – the most extensively covered 'ancient' category: 5% of the topics deal with the subject. In the 2004 curriculum none of the topics were categorised as 'Ancient Greece' (note: the topic was covered, see explanation below).

Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age

Bavaria

In the first four Bavarian curricula (1950, 1961, 1969 and 1980s) the 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age' is by far the most extensively covered 'ancient' category. Between 11 and 15% of topics are devoted to the subject – a relatively large number compared to the other 'ancient' periods. The period is considered significantly less important in the two most recent curricula. In these editions only between 3 and 4% of the topics were categorised as 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age', approximately the same as 'Ancient Greece'.

GDR

Generally, whilst the 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age' represents an important topic in the GDR curricula, the period is not as prominent as in the Bavarian curricula: first, in the GDR curricula 'prehistory' is usually more or, at least, equally as extensively covered as the 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age'. Second, only between 4 and 6% (10% in the 1947 edition) of the topics deal with the subject – considerably fewer than in the pre-1990 Bavarian curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

The 1992 Saxon edition resembles its contemporary Bavarian counterpart: the 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age' represents the most extensively covered 'ancient' period (together with 'Ancient Greece'). In this edition 5% of the topics were categorised as 'Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age'. In the 2004 curriculum the period is equally important as the other 'ancient' categories and only 2% of the topics deal with the subject.

Summary/comparison

The analysis showed that none of the 'ancient' categories are covered in very much detail in any of the curricula. However, with regards to 'ancient history' following observations were made:

1. Prehistory features much more prominently in the GDR curricula than in the FRG editions (note: the 1947 GDR curriculum is an exception as it more closely resembles its Bavarian counterparts). This is due to the fact that prehistory – or better primordial society – has a firm and important place in the Marxist-Leninist model of history (see above) whereas the FRG schoolbooks offer a less systematic and comprehensive view of the past. Prehistory has no obvious or secure place in the FRG historical narratives: the FRG books focus very much on the history of specific peoples (which are difficult to trace in prehistory) and,

more importantly, they are very much concerned with the concept of culture and civilisation (concepts which cannot easily be applied to prehistory). This is discussed further in chapter 6.

2. The 'ACE' are not covered very much in comparison to other 'ancient' periods. This applies to both the GDR and FRG curricula.
3. The FRG curricula focus very much on the 'Ancient Greece' – much more so than their GDR counterparts. This is especially true for the early editions. There are three main reasons for this: first, the Greeks have traditionally been the centre on German academic research and thinking (Marchand 1996). Second, Ancient Greece was seen as the birthplace of democracy (in the western sense); this was particularly important in the post-war period when the FRG tried to establish itself as western democracy (see chapter 2.1.). Third, Ancient Greece was seen as the birthplace – or the cradle – of Occidental culture. The Occident represented a particularly important concept to the FRG in the course of western integration and in its fight for legitimacy with the GDR (see chapter 2.1.).

Interestingly, none of these reasons apply for the GDR: with the establishment of a socialist state, the GDR not only broke with all traditional research interests/views and whole-heartedly adopted the Marxist-Leninist view of history, it also consciously and vehemently distanced itself from western democracies and allegiances.

4. In both the FRG and the GDR curricula Roman/Iron Age history represents one of the most extensively covered periods – interestingly, for different reasons. To elaborate, the Roman/Iron Age period is especially important in the Bavarian curricula for various reasons: first, as in the case of the Greeks, the Romans represent an important step in the development Occidental culture and the western political system (particularly Roman law – see below). Second, Bavaria was part of occupied Germania – there are therefore plenty of Roman remains on Bavarian soil that the curriculum authors feel students should learn about. Third, Rome was/is the birthplace and centre of the Catholic church – this is particularly relevant in Bavaria which has a largely Catholic population. And finally, the contacts between the Germanic tribes and the Romans had – according to the curricula – an important and lasting impact on German history. The reasons for teaching the Roman/Iron Age period in GDR schools are very different: first, Rome is a good example for a 'slave-holding' society – it is an

ideal case study to demonstrate how such a society developed, how it was organised and what impact it had on other (less historically advanced) peoples (for example, the primordial Germanic tribes). Second, Roman history is a good example to illustrate the nature of class-struggle and wars of liberation; central themes in the Marxist-Leninist view of history. Third, the contact period between the Romans and the Germanic tribes greatly and lastingly shaped the development of German history (this is not necessarily considered to be a positive influence).

iv. How much 'non-ancient history' do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?

Bavaria

Approximately three quarters of the topics in the Bavarian curricula deal with 'non-ancient history' (the number is slightly higher in the 1993 edition – 88%).

GDR

The GDR curricula fall into two main groups:

- **The 1947 curriculum:** This edition closely resembles the Bavarian curricula – approximately three quarters of the topics were categorised as 'non-ancient history'.
- **The remaining GDR curricula (1955, 1960s and 1988):** 'Non-ancient history' features even more prominently in the remaining GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts or in the 1947 GDR edition – between 84 and 89% of the topics were categorised as 'non-ancient history'.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula adopt different approaches:

- **The 1992 curriculum:** This edition resembles the Bavarian curricula – just over three quarters of the topics deal with ‘non-ancient history’.
- **The 2004 curriculum:** Considerably fewer topics were categorised as ‘non-ancient history’ than in any of the other curricula (57%).

Summary/comparison

In all the curricula the vast majority of topics deal with ‘non-ancient history’ – this is especially true for the post-1947 GDR curricula.

v. Which ‘non-ancient’ periods do the curricula propose should be taught in history education? Which periods are considered important and which are not?

Migration/Medieval Period

Bavaria

Generally, in the Bavarian curricula the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ is more extensively covered than any of the ‘ancient’ categories. There is, however, a great deal of variation in the extent to which the period features in the different editions – the curricula fall into two main groups:

- **The first four curricula (1950, 1961, 1969, 1980s):** The ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ is extensively covered – between 20 and 28% of the topics deal with the subject, subtly but steadily increasing in importance over the years.

- **The two most recent curricula (1993 and 2001):** The ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ is less prominent in these two curricula than in their predecessors – only 8% (1993) and 15% (2001) of the curriculum topics deal with the subject.

GDR

In all of the GDR curricula the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ is the smallest ‘non-ancient category’ – it is, however, more extensively covered than any of the ‘ancient’ periods. It is noticeable that the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ features less prominently in the GDR curricula than in their contemporary Bavarian counterparts: only between 11 and 15% of the topics deal with the subject (approximately 10% less than in the early Bavarian editions). Furthermore, the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ slowly decreases in importance over the years.

Post-Unification Saxony

As in the GDR and the more recent Bavarian curricula, the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ is less extensively covered than either of the other ‘non-ancient’ periods: In the 1992 edition, 16% of the topics were categorised as ‘Migration/Medieval Period’ – more than in the GDR and in the contemporary Bavarian curricula and less than in the pre-1993 Bavarian editions. In the 2004 curriculum only 7% of the topics are concerned with the ‘Migration/Medieval Period’.

The Early Modern Period

Bavaria

In most of the Bavarian curricula approximately one quarter of the topics was categorised as ‘Early Modern history’. The two exceptions are the 1950 and 1993 editions which both devote more space to the subject (40% and 30% respectively).

GDR

Generally, the GDR curricula deal with 'Early Modern history' more extensively than most of their contemporary Bavarian counterparts (the 1950 Bavarian curriculum is an exception). In all of the pre-1988 curricula over 30% of the topics were categorised as 'Early Modern history'; in the 1988 edition the category features slightly less prominently (25%). The 'Early Modern period' represents either the biggest (1947 edition) or the second biggest (all of the other curricula) 'non-ancient' category in all of the GDR curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

In both of the Saxon curricula the 'Early Modern period' is the second biggest 'non-ancient' category. However, the extent to which the period is covered varies greatly: in the 1992 edition, 30% of the topics were categorised as 'Early Modern' (the same as in the 1993 Bavarian and the pre-1988 GDR curricula); against 13% in the 2004 curriculum.

The Modern Period

Bavaria

The extent to which the 'Modern period' is represented varies considerably between the Bavarian curricula: the number of topics devoted to 'Modern history' rises from 11 to 50% between the 1950 edition and the 1993 curriculum. This is not a steady, gradual increase – there are two major shifts: between the 1950 and the 1961 curriculum (from 11 to 25%) and between the 1980s and the 1993 edition (25 to 50%). After 1993, 'Modern history' decreases slightly in importance – in the 2001 curriculum only 34% of the topics deal with the subject. In these two most recent curricula the 'Modern period'

is by far the biggest ‘non-ancient’ category. In most of the previous editions all three ‘non-ancient’ periods were more or less equally represented (note: the 1950 curriculum is an exception – ‘Modern history’ is by far the least important ‘non-ancient’ period).

GDR

In all of the GDR curricula the ‘Modern period’ is either the biggest or – as in the case of the 1947 edition – the second biggest ‘non-ancient’ category. The number of topics devoted to the subject increases from 27% to 52% between the 1947 curriculum and the 1988 edition.

Post-Unification Saxony

The ‘Modern period’ represents the most important ‘non-ancient’ category in both of the Saxon curricula. Similar to the 2001 Bavarian curriculum, 34% (1992) and 37% (2004) of the topics were categorised as ‘Modern history’.

Summary/comparison

The ‘Migration/Medieval period’ is more prominent in the pre-1993 Bavarian curricula than in either the later Bavarian editions or in the GDR curricula. ‘Early Modern history’, by contrast, is more extensively covered in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts. Furthermore, there are great variations in the extent to which the ‘Modern period’ is covered in both the Bavarian and the GDR curricula: in both areas ‘Modern history’ represents the least important ‘non-ancient’ category in the earliest editions and is most extensively covered in the post-unification curricula. Finally, the ‘Modern history’ is generally more prominent in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts.

vi. Exceptions and 'Other'

Generally between 4 and 8% of the topics in the FRG (Bavarian and Saxon) curricula were categorised as 'Other'. On average the number is slightly lower for the GDR curricula – between 0 and 6%. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the most recent Bavarian and, especially, the latest Saxon curriculum contained considerably more topics which did not match any of the other categories (15% and 40% respectively) than their predecessors.

Section II.1.1.2.

Which historical periods do the schoolbooks focus on? How are the different historical periods presented in the textbooks and how are they incorporated into the historical narrative?

Prehistory

Bavaria

The 'space analysis' showed that prehistory is not extensively covered in any of the Bavarian schoolbooks. It does not feature at all in B1 (note: this may be due to the fact that the second volume was not available) and B7 and only covers between 3 and 7% of the space devoted to the 'ancient past' in the remaining books (with the exception of B8 – 13%). Prehistory is either the least extensively covered historical period or is among the bottom few.

Furthermore, the qualitative analysis showed a clear trend – the early Bavarian schoolbooks deal with prehistory in a very different way to the more recent editions:

- **Early Bavarian books** (B1, B2 and B3): None of these start with prehistory; they all begin with a chapter(s) on the 'ACE'. However, both B2 and B3 cover prehistoric topics later on (it is not possible to determine whether this also applies to B1 as the second volume was not available): B2 at the beginning of

the second volume after the chapter on the early Christian period and before the section on the 'Emergence of Occidental Unity'; B3 at the end of the first volume in the chapter on 'Romans and Germanic tribes'. Both books largely focus on Germanic prehistory and B2 exclusively deals with European prehistory.

- **Later Bavarian books** (B4, B5, B6, B8): With the exception of B7 all of the more recent Bavarian textbooks start with a section on prehistory. These chapters generally cover human evolution and the emergence of modern humans as well as the Stone and the Metal Ages. They are usually quite general and do not tend to focus on any particular area of the world – note: both B4 and B8 additionally contain sections on the Celts in Bavaria.

Furthermore, all of the later Bavarian schoolbooks (again, with the exception of B7) return to prehistoric topics after dealing with Classical history. The focus of these sections is Germanic prehistory – usually in connection to the Migration Period, the Romans and/or the collapse of the Roman Empire.

As mentioned above, B7 does not deal with prehistory. It does, however, contain a chapter on the 'Romanisation of Europe'.

GDR

The 'space analysis' showed that prehistory is generally more extensively covered in the GDR schoolbooks than in their Bavarian counterparts: between 12 and 27% of the space allocated to 'ancient history'. Furthermore, whereas in the Bavarian schoolbooks prehistory is usually the category with the least space devoted to it, it features more prominently in comparison to other historical periods in the GDR books.

The qualitative analysis showed that all of the GDR books deal with prehistory in a very similar way. Much like the later Bavarian books, they start with a section on prehistory – or, more precisely, with a section on primordial society. Throughout the authors focus very much on development of technology as well as on changes in subsistence economy and social organisation. These introductory sections are fairly general and do not tend to

focus exclusively on any particular area of the world – note: GDR2, GDR3 and GDR6 devote some space to the prehistory of the ‘homeland’.

Furthermore, all of the GDR schoolbooks return to prehistory after dealing with the early historical periods in some detail. All devote at least one section to Germanic prehistory (introducing the Germanic tribes and discussing their way of life – in GDR3 to GDR6 in relation to the Roman Period, in GDR1 this is fitted into the chapter on the emergence of feudalism) and most also briefly introduce Slavic prehistory. Both Germanic and Slavic prehistory are presented very much within the context of the Marxist-Leninist view of history: primordial societies in contact with slave-holding/class societies, the break-up of primordial society and the emergence of/transition to class-society/feudalism.

Post-Unification Saxony

The results of the quantitative analysis are quite different for the two Saxon books: in S1 20% of the space devoted to the ‘ancient past’ deals with prehistory, in S2 it is only 13%. Furthermore, whereas in S1 prehistory represents the most extensively covered period (in conjunction with the Roman Period), it features less prominently in comparison to other periods in S2.

In terms of structure and content the Saxon textbooks closely resemble their GDR and later Bavarian counterparts: both start with chapters on prehistory – dealing with quite general topics such as evolution, subsistence economy, the Stone and the Metal Ages. Additionally, both Saxon books, like some of their Bavarian counterparts, deal with the Celts. Furthermore, like the later Bavarian and the GDR books, both come back to Germanic prehistory after dealing with Classical history in some detail (note: in S1 a separate chapter is devoted to ‘the Germanic tribes and the Romans’, in S2 this is dealt with as part of the chapter on the Roman Empire).

Summary/comparison

The later Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks follow a similar structure as the GDR books: they contain two main sections on prehistory – an introduction to prehistory at the start of the book (which, in some cases, includes a section on local prehistory) and one later on dealing mainly with the Germanic tribes. There are two main differences between the FRG and the GDR books: first, prehistory is covered more extensively in the GDR books than in their Bavarian counterparts (note: this is not true for the Saxon books, especially for S1). Second, the GDR schoolbooks deal with prehistory within the wider context of the Marxist-Leninist perspective of history, whereas the Bavarian and the Saxon books do not.

The ‘ACE’ (‘Ancient Civilisations of the East’)

Bavaria

The Bavarian schoolbooks devote slightly more room to the ‘ACE’ than to prehistory: between 7 and 13% of the space allocated to the ‘ancient past’ deals with the subject. B7 is an exception – the ‘ACE’ are not covered at all.

As outlined above, the qualitative analysis showed slight variations with regards to the structure of the books: whereas the early Bavarian schoolbooks (B1 to B3) start with a chapter (or chapters) on the ‘ACE’, the more recent editions begin with an introduction to prehistory before moving on to the ‘Ancient Civilisations of the East’. Furthermore, the books vary in terms of how many, and which, of the ancient eastern civilisations they actually cover:

- Ancient Egypt: covered in all books.
- Ancient Mesopotamia: covered in all books but is only a minor theme in B8.
- The Israelites: covered in all books except B5.
- The Phoenicians: only covered in the early books (B1 to B4).
- Ancient Persia: only covered as part of ‘ACE’ in the first two books (B1 and B2), in the later editions the Persian Empire is dealt with in the context of Ancient Greece (the Greek/Persian war etc).

- Ancient India: only covered in the early books (B2 and B3).
- Ancient China: covered in B2, B3 and B5.
- The Hittites/Asia Minor: only covered in the early books (B2 and B3).
- The Minoans and the Mycenaeans: only covered as part of 'ACE' in B3 and B5, in some of the other books they are dealt with as part of 'Ancient Greece'.
- (The American Civilisations: only covered in B3.)

In short, the early Bavarian books (especially B2 and B3) cover by far the greatest range of different 'civilisations', give the most extensive overview of the 'ACE'. Later books tend to focus more on a few selected civilisations (usually around four, B8 slightly less). The three most extensively covered 'civilisations' in the Bavarian books are: Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Israelites.

GDR

The GDR books are less homogenous in terms of how much space they devote to the 'ACE' than their Bavarian counterparts: in GDR1 23% of the space allocated to 'ancient history' deals with the subject, the percentage is lower for the remaining books – between 14% and 17%. In GDR2 the 'ACE' are not covered at all. Furthermore, the 'space analysis' showed that in comparison with other periods the 'ACE' are among the most extensively covered periods in GDR1, GDR4 and GDR5 but feature less prominently than some of the other periods in GDR3 and GDR6.

The qualitative analysis showed that in all of the GDR books the 'ACE' are dealt with in a single chapter on the 'Ancient Orient'. There are, however, some differences in content and in the ways in which the historical narratives are structured:

- **Early GDR books** (GDR1 and GDR3, the 'ACE' are not covered in GDR2): The early books – especially GDR1 – provide a wide overview of the 'ACE'; the main aim of the chapter is to introduce students to a range of different peoples and civilisations of the 'Ancient Orient'. GDR1 covers ancient

Mesopotamia, ancient China, the Egyptians, ancient India, the Phoenicians and ancient Palestine. GDR3 does not provide such a broad overview but is also concerned with/structured around the history of a number of different 'civilisations': the Sumerians, the Egyptians and ancient China. Additionally, some of the sections in GDR3 are concerned with more thematic topics such as 'trade'.

- **More recent GDR books** (GDR4, GDR5, GDR6): These tend to focus on themes rather than on the history of certain peoples/civilisations – a trend which started in GDR3. In all three books Mesopotamia is used as the main example (but other 'civilisations' are also mentioned). The overarching aim of the 'Ancient Orient' chapters in the later GDR books is to introduce students to prevalent forms of socio-economic organisation as well as cultural and technological developments and progress.

Post-Unification Saxony

In both of the Saxon books the 'ACE' neither represent the most nor the least extensively covered period – in this respect they very much resemble their Bavarian counterparts. However, generally the 'space analysis' showed that the Saxon books devote slightly more room to the period than the Bavarian schoolbooks: between 14 and 16% of the space allocated to 'ancient history' deal with the 'ACE' – this is similar to the GDR books.

In terms of content the Saxon textbooks resemble the later Bavarian schoolbooks: both sets of books focus on a few selected examples rather than providing a broad overview over the different 'civilisations'. S1 and S2 both concentrate on the Egyptian civilisation and on ancient Mesopotamia. S2 also covers ancient Israel and Jewish history.

Summary/comparison

Whereas both the early Bavarian and the early GDR books provide a broad overview over the 'ACE', the later editions tend to focus on a small number of selected examples (this is also true for the two Saxon books). The main difference between the GDR and the FRG textbooks is that the GDR books, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history, concentrate on historical progress and socio-economic developments, whereas the Bavarian and the Saxon schoolbooks are more concerned with the history of individual civilisations/cultures.

The Greeks

Bavaria

The 'space analysis' highlighted three main points: first, the amount of space devoted to the Greek period varies considerably between the textbooks – between 40% (B1) and 16% (B8). Second, the Greek period is either the most, or the second most extensively covered period. Third, in some of the schoolbooks there is an enormous difference between the amount of space devoted to the Greeks and the next biggest category (for example, 33% in B1 – it is, however, important to note that the second volume was not available), in other books the difference is very small (for instance, 2% in B4).

With the exception of B7, the Bavarian books largely adhere to a chronological structure of Greek history and they all focus on similar topics. These include the Greek people and landscape, cultures/peoples preceding the Greek period, culture and religion, Sparta as an example of a 'warrior state', Athens (the Athenian democracy and the 'Golden Age' under Pericles), the Persian Wars, the Peloponnesian War, Alexander the Great and the Age of Hellenism as well as Greek colonisation (not covered in all of the books).

GDR

The 'space analysis' showed that the GDR schoolbooks devote less space to the Greek period than their Bavarian counterparts. Furthermore, the period is more extensively covered in GDR1 and GDR3 (the Greek period is not dealt with in GDR2) than in the later editions: 22 and 17% versus 10-11% of the overall space allocated to the 'ancient past' deals with 'Ancient Greece'. Additionally, 'Ancient Greece' was among the most extensively covered periods in GDR1 and GDR3 but was overtaken by other periods in later editions.

The qualitative analysis showed that the GDR books deal with the Greek period in a slightly different way: in GDR2 the subject is not covered at all, in GDR1 it is dealt with as part of a general chapter on slave-holding societies, in GDR3 and GDR4 separate chapters are devoted to 'Ancient Greece' and GDR6 only covers Athenian history. However, generally the GDR books are fairly homogenous with regards to content: all are predominantly concerned with the socio-political and socio-economic organisation and class-structure of Greek society. Furthermore, all of the books focus very much on the role of slaves as well as on Greek culture and the Persian Wars (with the exception of GDR4 and GDR5). Only GDR1 deals with Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic period.

Post-Unification Saxony

In both of the Saxon schoolbooks the Greek period is among the few most extensively covered historical periods. Between 17 and 19% of the space allocated to the 'ancient past' deals with Greek history.

The Saxon schoolbooks quite closely resemble the Bavarian textbooks in terms of structure and content. Both books cover similar topics such as the Greek gods and religion, the Athenian democracy and Alexander the Great (and the age of Hellenism). In addition, S2 also deals with Greek culture, the Spartan state and society as well as with the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars.

Summary/comparison

The Bavarian and the Saxon books place more emphasis on the Greek period than their GDR counterparts (possibly with the exception of GDR1 and GDR3). Furthermore, the Bavarian and the Saxon schoolbooks offer a broader overview over Greek history than the GDR books which tend to focus more on a number of selected themes – especially those concerned with the socio-economic organisation and/or Greek culture in the widest sense.

The Romans

Bavaria

The Roman period is – usually by far – the most extensively covered period in all of the Bavarian schoolbooks. In most books between 31 and 40% of the space allocated to the ‘ancient past’ is devoted to Roman history – the percentage is considerably higher in B1 (53%) and slightly lower in B8 (25%).

In most of the schoolbooks (with the exception of B1 and B6) the Roman period is dealt with in two main chapters: one on the Romans/the Roman Empire and one on contacts between the Romans and the Germanic tribes (this usually incorporates the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and/or the beginnings of the Migration Period). Furthermore, the qualitative analysis of the tables of content showed that all of the Bavarian books deal with very similar topics. These include: the Roman ‘*Volk*’ and geography, the foundation of Rome, Roman expansion and conquest – including various wars (especially the Punic Wars) and the conquest and influence of the Hellenistic world, various internal conflicts and power-struggles (for instance, Marius and Sulla, Cesar and Pompous etc.), Augustus and his empire, changes in and characteristics of the empire, the emergence of Christianity and the decline/collapse of the Roman Empire.

GDR

With the exception of GDR1, the Roman period is either the most or the second most extensively covered period in all of the GDR schoolbooks. However, the actual amount of space allocated to the subject decreases slightly over time: in GDR2 and GDR3 between 28 and 30% of the 'ancient' topics deal with Roman history, in GDR5 the number is reduced to 24% and 20% in GDR6. Importantly, in GDR1 much less space is devoted to the Roman period (16% of the topics allocated to the 'ancient past') than in the other GDR textbooks.

The qualitative analysis showed that the GDR books vary slightly in terms of structure and content:

- GDR1: Only one chapter is devoted to the Romans. The book does not deal with the Germanic/Roman war or with contacts between the Germanic tribes and the Romans in any detail. In other respects the book resembles GDR3 to GDR6, see below.
- GDR2: Gives a very brief general introduction to the Roman Empire but mainly focuses on the Spartacus Rising, the Germanic/Roman war and on contacts between the Germanic tribes and the Romans.
- GDR3 to GDR6: The later GDR books devote two or more chapters to the Romans period:
 - One chapter on the Roman Empire itself which deals with topics such as: Roman expansion/conquest, slaves, slave riots/Spartacus, the Roman economy, Roman society and social inequality as well as with Roman culture.
 - One chapter on the relationship between the Germanic tribes and the Romans. This usually includes topics such as: the Roman conquest of Germania, Arminius and the Germanic 'war of liberation' and the peaceful relations between the Romans and the Germanic tribes.
 - One chapter or – in most cases – a section usually concentrates on the decline of the Roman Empire – it covers topics such as:

agriculture/economy, Christianity/religion, social conflict/class-struggle and the migration period.

Post-Unification Saxony

As in the Bavarian and most of the GDR books, the Roman era represents the most extensively covered period in both of the Saxon schoolbooks (note: in S1 the same amount of space is devoted to prehistory as to the Romans). However, the Saxon books generally devote less room to the Romans than most of their GDR and – especially their Bavarian – counterparts (20% of the space allocated to ‘ancient history’).

In terms of structure, S1 closely resembles the Bavarian and the later GDR books: two chapters deal with the Romans – one is concerned with the Roman period proper and one with the relationship between the Germanic tribes and the Romans. In S2 one chapter covers the whole of the Roman period. In terms of content, both Saxon books are very similar to the Bavarian schoolbooks.

Summary/comparison

In both the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks the Roman era is among the most extensively covered periods (note: generally more space is devoted to the subject in the Bavarian textbooks than in their Saxon and GDR counterparts). Furthermore, the later GDR books closely resemble most of their FRG counterparts in terms of structure: the books usually devote two chapters to this period – one on the Roman period proper and on the relationship between the Germanic tribes and the Romans. Additionally, it was noted that the GDR schoolbooks tend to focus on slightly different themes (such as slavery, class-struggle and the socio-economic organisation) than their Bavarian and Saxon counterparts.

The Migration Period

Bavaria

None of the Bavarian books devote much room to the Migration Period – between 2 and 7% of the space allocated to ‘ancient history’ deals with the subject (note: B1 devotes less space to it – 1%, this may be because the second volume was not available; and B2 slightly more – 13%).

The qualitative analysis showed that in most of the books the Migration Period is dealt with in a separate chapter or section. Furthermore, all of the Bavarian textbooks adopt a similar structure with regards to the Migration Period: they deal with Germanic prehistory, move on to the relationship between the Romans and the Germanic tribes, then discuss the movements of the Germanic tribes and the beginning of the Migration Period before turning to the collapse of the Roman Empire and the foundation of the Germanic kingdoms on Roman soil and then finally to the emergence of the Frank Empire (which eventually leads to the foundation of the German Reich). From this it becomes clear that – despite the fact that it is not covered very much – the schoolbooks portray the Migration Period as a crucial turning-point in history and the pre-condition for the emergence of German history.

GDR

The Migration Period features even less in the GDR schoolbooks than in their Bavarian counterparts: GDR2 does not deal with it at all and in all of the remaining books only between 1 and 2% of the space allocated to the ‘ancient past’ is devoted to this period.

The results of the qualitative analysis support the quantitative data – the Migration Period hardly features and is not ascribed any importance in the GDR books: none of the books devote a separate chapter to the Migration Period – in fact, in two of the books it is not even mentioned in the table of content (GDR4 and GDR5). In most of the books the Migration Period is dealt with in the context of the collapsing slave-holding

society. Only in GDR6 is the Migration Period incorporated as a sub-section in the chapter on the 'Germanic tribes and the Romans'.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books closely resemble their Bavarian and GDR counterparts in the sense that only 3% of the space allocated to 'ancient history' deals with the Migration Period.

In terms of structure, the Saxon books are very similar to their GDR predecessors: neither of the two schoolbooks devotes a separate chapter to the Migration Period nor do they mention it explicitly in their tables of contents. Furthermore, it was observed that S1 closely resembles the Bavarian books in the sense that it deals with the Migration Period in connection to Germanic history. The content of S2 is more similar to the GDR schoolbooks and discusses the Migration Period in the context of Roman history (the collapse of the Roman Empire).

Summary/comparison

The Migration Period is not extensively covered. However, the analysis highlighted some interesting differences between the three sets of textbooks: first, whereas the Migration Period represents an integral part of the Bavarian schoolbooks, it is treated more as a side-issue in the GDR books (GDR6 is an exception). Second, unlike the Bavarian and the Saxon books, the GDR textbooks deal with the Migration Period very much in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history – it is seen as a transitional period between two successive stages in history.

PMP-G/E (Post-Migration Period in Germany and Europe, from the end of the Migration Period to the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire)

Bavaria

In most of the Bavarian schoolbooks the 'PMP-G/E' is less extensively covered than the Greeks and the Romans but features more prominently than the other historical periods (note: B1 was excluded from the analysis as the second volume was not available). Generally, between 12 and 19% of the topics allocated to the 'ancient past' deal with the subject.

The qualitative analysis showed that all of the Bavarian schoolbooks devote several chapters to the 'PMP-G/E' (some of these also include sections on the Byzantine Empire and Islam, see below). Furthermore, despite some slight variations, all of the textbooks are very similar in the way the 'PMP-G/E' is incorporated into the historical narrative, into the structure of the books: as outlined above, the Migration Period is portrayed as a great turning-point in history – the transition from the Classical to the medieval world order. Consequently, the 'PMP-G/E' (in most books equated with the birth of the Occident) is portrayed a 'new chapter in history' – the product of ancient (and, especially, Classical and Germanic) history so far. Interestingly, with the beginning of this 'new era' the focus of the historical narrative shifts from the Mediterranean to central and northern Europe.

The Bavarian books are very similar in terms of content – commonly covered topics are, for example: Christianisation and the role of the church, the Frank Empire (its characteristics and developments), the transition from the Frank Empire to the German Reich (with the exception of B7) as well as the Slavs, Normans and other 'European peoples' (B3, B5 and B8).

GDR

As in the Bavarian schoolbooks, the 'PMP-G/E' is among the three most extensively covered periods (note: GDR1 is an exception – possibly because the second volume was not available). In most of the books between 15 and 20% of the space allocated to

‘ancient history’ deals with the subject. The percentage is higher in GDR2 (39%) and GDR6 (26%) – in both books the ‘PMP-G/E’ represents the most prominent category.

The qualitative analysis showed that, despite minor variations (in, for example, the number of chapters etc.), all of the GDR books deal with the ‘PMP-G/E’ in a similar way: like their Bavarian counterparts, the emphasis in the GDR books is on transition and change. However, unlike the Bavarian schoolbooks, the GDR books are very much concerned with the emergence of feudalism which is, much in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history, seen as the next stage/phase in history. Common topics in the GDR books include: the characteristics of feudalism, the emergence of the German Reich (especially prominent in GDR6), the Frank Empire – politics, development and the socio-economic organisation (possibly with the exception of GDR2, which only touches upon the this), the wars of liberation and/or the oppression of the Slavs and medieval culture (most of the books).

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon schoolbooks devote less space to the ‘PMP-G/E’ than their Bavarian and GDR counterparts: between 8 and 9% of the room allocated to ‘ancient history’ covers the ‘PMP-G/E’.

The qualitative analysis showed that Saxon books focus on the Frank Empire and the emergence of the German state. Furthermore, both schoolbooks – especially S1 – are concerned with the emergence of ‘Europe’.

Summary/comparison

The ‘PMP-G/E’ represents an important topic in both the GDR and Bavarian books, less space is devoted to it in the two Saxon schoolbooks. The way this period is incorporated into the historical narrative varies slightly – in the GDR books the ‘PMP-G/E’ is portrayed in terms of the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress, whereas the

Bavarian and the Saxon books see it as the beginning of a new era in the history of Europe/the Occident (which is based the preceding Classical period).

PMP-W (Post-Migration Period in other areas of the world, from the Migration Period to the 10th century)

Bavaria

The 'PMP-W' is not extensively covered in any of the Bavarian schoolbooks (B1 is excluded from the analysis as the second volume was not available) – between 2% and 7% of the space devoted to 'ancient history' deals with the subject. Notably, the 'PMP-W' features slightly more prominently in B5, B6 and B7 (5 - 7%) than in the remaining books (2-3%).

With the exception of B6, the books do not devote a separate chapter to the 'PMP-W'. Furthermore, the Bavarian textbooks only cover two topics in relation to the 'PMP-W': Islam/the Arabs (all of them with the exception of B7) and Byzantine history (all of them with the exception of B3 and B4).

GDR

The early GDR books either do not cover the 'PMP-W' at all (GDR2 and GDR3) or only allocate a very limited amount of space to it (1% in GDR1 – this might be because the second volume was not available). In GDR4 and GDR5 the period features more prominently: between 10 and 13% of the total amount space allocated to 'ancient history' deals with the 'PMP-W'. In GDR6 the percentage is reduced to 5%.

In terms of content, GDR4 and GDR5 cover both the Arab Caliph system as well as the Byzantine Empire, whereas GDR6 focuses solely on Arab history. In all of the three books that cover the 'PMP-W', feudalism represents a major theme.

Post-Unification Saxony

In both of the Saxon books the 'PMP-W' is among the least extensively covered periods. Between 5 and 3% of the space allocated to the 'ancient past' is devoted to the 'PMP-W'. Like the Bavarian and the GDR textbooks, the two Saxon books focus on the history of Islam/the Arabs and on the Byzantine Empire. Generally, the Saxon schoolbooks more closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts than the GDR schoolbooks in terms of content.

Summary/comparison

The GDR schoolbooks are less homogenous in the way they deal with the 'PMP-W' than their Bavarian and Saxon counterparts: GDR4 and GDR5 devote more space to the period than the Bavarian and the Saxon textbooks; GDR6 allocates approximately the same amount of room to the 'PMP-W' as the FRG schoolbooks and the early GDR books do not cover the subject at all. Both the FRG and the GDR books focus on the Arabs/Islam and the Byzantine period. However, whereas the main aim of the GDR books is to explain and compare the emergence of feudalism in different areas of the world, the Bavarian and the Saxon books concentrate more on culture and religion.

Question II.1.2.

To what extent is 'national history' covered in the curricula? Furthermore, to what extent does 'non-national history' feature in the historical narrative? Does globalisation and 'post-nationalism' have an impact on the historical narrative that is being constructed in the curricula?

Note: please see V.II.4.2. for tables and figures.

i. How much ‘national’ history do the curricula propose should be taught in comparison to ‘non-national’ history?

All three sets of curricula are predominantly concerned with ‘national history’; ‘non-national’ history tends to be far less extensively covered. Furthermore, the analysis showed that with the exception of the 2004 Saxon curriculum, generally very few curriculum topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

ii. How much ‘national history’ do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?

Bavaria

Between 50 and 70% of the curriculum topics were categorised as ‘national’ history. ‘National’ history is most popular in the 1993 and the 2001 curricula and least popular in the 1969 and the 1980s editions.

GDR

With the exception of the 1947 curriculum, ‘national history’ is slightly more extensively covered in the GDR curricula than in their contemporary Bavarian counterparts: between 68 and 73% of the topics deal with the subject.

Post-Unification Saxony

‘National history’ features slightly less prominently in the two Saxon curricula than in their GDR predecessors. In the 1992 edition, 66% of the topics were categorised as

‘national history’ (the same as in the 1993 Bavarian curriculum). In the 2004 curriculum only 59% of the topics deal with the subject, considerably less than in the contemporary Bavarian edition (70%).

Summary/comparison

‘National history’ represents an important theme in all of the curricula – in all cases, at least half, often considerably more, of the curriculum topics were categorised as ‘national’ history. The subject is slightly more prominent in most of the GDR and in the more recent FRG curricula (with the exception of the 2004 Saxon edition) than in the pre-1990 Bavarian editions (especially in the 1969 and the 1980s curricula).

iii. More specifically, what kind of ‘national’ history do the curricula propose should be taught (i.e. do the curricula focus on German, local, German and European etc history)?

Local history; Local and German history; Local, German and European history; Local and European history; All

Bavaria

The extent to which ‘local history’ is covered varies between the different Bavarian curricula: in some cases it represents a substantial part of the curriculum (for instance, 10% of the topics in the 2001 curriculum are devoted to ‘local history’); in others it hardly features at all (for example, only 1% of the topics in the 1969 edition deal with the subject).

‘Local and German history’ is not covered at all in half of the curricula and in the other half only 1% of the topics deal with the subject. The same applies to ‘all’ and ‘local and European history’. ‘Local, German and European history’ is slightly more extensively

covered in most of the Bavarian curricula (the 1950 and the 2001 editions are exceptions – they do not deal with subject at all).

GDR

None of the categories concerned with local history feature in the GDR curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

12% of the topics in the 1992 Saxon curriculum are devoted to ‘local history’, but only 5% in the 2004 edition. Generally, the subject features more prominently in the Saxon curricula than in their GDR predecessors and is ascribed a similarly important role as in some of the Bavarian curricula.

‘Local and German’ history is slightly more extensively covered than in the Bavarian curricula – 4% of topics in 1992, 2% in 2004.

Furthermore, between 1 and 2% of the topics in the 1992 curriculum are devoted to ‘all’, ‘local and European history’ as well as ‘local, German and European history’. None of these categories feature at all in the 2004 Saxon edition.

German history

Bavaria

In most curricula approximately 10% of the topics are devoted to ‘German history’. The subject is slightly less important in the 1961 edition (5%) and slightly more prominent in the 1993 curriculum (15%).

GDR

‘German history’ is much more extensively covered in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts: in the first three editions (1947, 1955 and 1960s) approximately one quarter of the topics deal with the subject, slightly more in the 1988 curriculum (36%). ‘German history’ represents either the biggest, or the second biggest category in the GDR curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

The 1992 Saxon curriculum more closely resembles the Bavarian curricula than its GDR predecessors – 12% of topics were categorised as ‘German history’. The topic is slightly more extensively dealt with in the 2004 edition (19%).

German and European

Bavaria

‘German and European history’ is by far the most extensively covered category in all of the Bavarian curricula: approximately one third of the topics (slightly more in the 1950 and in the 1961 editions and slightly less in the 1969 and the 1980s curricula) were categorised as ‘German and European history’.

GDR

With the exception of the 1955 edition (which is very similar to the Bavarian curricula – 33%) ‘German and European history’ features less prominently in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts. Only about one quarter of the topics deal with the subject.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula are very similar – in both, ‘German and European history’ is less represented (only 19 – 20%) than in their GDR, and especially in their Bavarian counterparts.

German and world history

This category hardly features in any of the curricula.

German, European and world history

Bavaria

‘German, European and world history’ represents one of the three biggest categories in the Bavarian curricula (together with ‘German history’ and, especially, ‘German and European history’). Generally, between 9 and 14% of the topics are devoted to the subject – the category is slightly less extensively covered in the 1969 and 1980s curricula than in the first two (1950 and 1961) and, especially, the last two editions (1993 and 2001).

GDR

Most of the GDR curricula closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts – between 8 and 11% of the topics were categorised as ‘German, European and world history’. The subject is considerably more prominent in the 1960s curricula (21% of the topics).

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula closely resemble their contemporary Bavarian counterparts: between 12 and 14% of the topics deal with 'German, European and world history'. In other words, the subject is slightly more extensively covered than in the GDR curricula and in the 1969 and 1980s Bavarian editions.

Summary/comparison

The results of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

- Whereas local history (in the widest sense) is not covered at all in the GDR curricula, it represents a substantial element of most of the FRG curricula. This is especially true for the 1992 Saxon and the 2001 Bavarian editions.
- 'German history' represents an important element in all of the curricula. It is, however, noticeable that it is much more extensively covered in the GDR curricula than in their FRG counterparts.
- 'German and European history' represents the most important category in the Bavarian curricula. It also heavily features in the GDR and in the Saxon editions but is generally ascribed a less important role.
- 'German and world history' hardly features in any of the curricula.
- 'German, European and world history' is relatively extensively covered in all of the curricula (especially in the 1960s GDR edition), and to an equal degree.

iv. How much 'non-national history' do the curricula propose should be taught in history education?

Bavaria

In most of the Bavarian curricula approximately one third of the topics were categorised as ‘non-national history’. This number is considerably higher for the 1969 edition (43%), and lower for the 2001 curriculum (24%).

GDR

All of the post-1947 GDR curricula cover ‘non-national’ history less extensively than their Bavarian counterparts – only approximately 25% of the topics deal with the subject. The 1947 edition more closely resembles the Bavarian curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula adopt slightly different approaches: whereas the 1992 edition closely resembles its Bavarian counterparts, the 2004 Saxon curriculum covers ‘non-national history’ far less extensively than any of the other curricula (10%).

Summary/comparison

‘Non-national history’ is more extensively covered in the Bavarian curricula and the 1992 Saxon curriculum than in the GDR curricula and, especially, in the 2004 Saxon edition.

v. More specifically, what kind of ‘non-national’ history do the curricula propose should be taught (i.e. do the curricula focus on European, world etc. history)?

European history

Bavaria

‘European history’ is the biggest ‘non-national category’ in the Bavarian curricula (in most cases it comes second to ‘German and European history’). In the first four curricula (the 1950, 1961, 1969 and 1980s editions) approximately one quarter of the topics were categorised as ‘European history’; the number decreases to 18% in the 1993 edition and 13% in 2001 edition.

GDR

The GDR curricula resemble their Bavarian counterparts in the sense that ‘European history’ is the most extensively covered ‘non-national category’. It is, however, noticeable that in comparison to ‘national’ topics, ‘European history’ is generally considered less important than in the Bavarian curricula. The analysis showed a clear decrease in ‘European’ topics over time: from 24% in the 1947 curriculum to 13% in the 1988 edition.

Post-Unification Saxony

As in the Bavarian and GDR curricula, ‘European history’ represents the biggest ‘non-national category’ in the two Saxon editions. Similar to the 1993 Bavarian curriculum, 17% of the topics in the 1992 Saxon edition were categorised as ‘European history’. In the 2001 curriculum the subject features less prominently – only 5% of the topics deal with ‘European history’, considerably less than in any of the other curricula.

European and world history

Bavaria

In most cases ‘European and world history’ is the second biggest ‘non-national category’ in the Bavarian curricula (note: in the 1969 edition ‘European and world

history' and 'world history' are equally covered and in the 1980s curricula 'world history' features slightly more prominently). Generally, between 6 and 10% of the Bavarian curriculum topics were categorised as 'European and world history'.

GDR

In all of the GDR curricula 'European and world history' is the second biggest 'non-national' category. However, the topic features quite considerably less prominently than 'European history' – only between 4 and 8% of the topics were categorised as 'European and world history', slightly fewer than in the contemporary Bavarian curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula closely resemble their Bavarian and GDR counterparts: 5 and 6% of the curriculum topics were categorised as 'European and world history'. Whereas in the 1992 edition 'European history' features much more prominently than 'European and world history' (17 compared to 6%), the two categories are equally covered in the 2001 edition.

World history

Bavaria

In most Bavarian curricula, 'world history' is the least important 'non-national' category (the 1969 and 1980s editions are exceptions to this, see above). Generally, between 4% and 9% of the curriculum topics were categorised as 'world history' (note: the subject is most extensively covered in the 1969 curriculum).

GDR

‘World history’ represents the least extensively covered ‘non-national’ category in all of the GDR curricula, the topic (together with ‘European and world history’) features far less prominently than most of the ‘national’ categories. Generally, slightly fewer topics in the GDR curricula were categorised as ‘world history’ than in their Bavarian counterparts (between 2 and 5%).

Post-Unification Saxony

The 1992 curriculum closely resembles the Bavarian curricula: 7% of the topics deal with ‘world history’. The 2001 edition deals with the subject less extensively than any of the other curricula (only 1% of the topics).

Summary/comparison

‘European history’ is the most extensively covered ‘non-national category’ in most of the curricula. Generally, it is slightly more important in the Bavarian than in the GDR curricula (especially when compared to some of the ‘national’ topics). Furthermore, ‘European history’ decreases slightly in importance over the years both in the FRG and in the GDR curricula. ‘European and world history’ usually represents the second biggest ‘non-national’ category in all three sets of curricula. In most cases ‘world history’ is slightly less extensively covered than ‘European and world history’.

vi. Exceptions and ‘Unspecified’.

Not many topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’ in any of the curricula, usually between 2 and 7%. The 2001 Saxon edition is an exception to this – 31% were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (this is because the curriculum focuses very much on cross-sections through time and between different areas – this is discussed further below).

Question II.1.3.

How do the results of II.1.1. and section II.1.2. relate to each other – which historical periods feature in the ‘national narrative’? To what extent is the ‘ancient past’ taught in conjunction with ‘national history’?

Note: please see V.II.4.3. for tables and figures.

Section II.1.3.1.

i. Overview: to what extent is ‘ancient history’ taught in conjunction with ‘national’ / ‘non-national’ history?

Bavaria

Generally, the large majority of ‘ancient’ topics in the Bavarian curricula deal with ‘non-national’ history; only between 5% (in the 1993 curriculum) and 25% (in the 1961 edition) of ‘ancient’ topics are concerned with the ‘national’ past. Furthermore, only between 0 and 11% of the ‘ancient’ topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

GDR

As in the Bavarian curricula, most of the ‘ancient’ topics in the GDR curricula deal with ‘non-national’ history. It is worth noting that generally, a larger number of ‘ancient’ topics was categorised as ‘unspecified’ than in the Bavarian curricula (between 15 and 44%) – especially in the 1955 and 1960s editions. Furthermore, the analysis showed a subtle trend: slightly more ‘ancient’ topics are devoted to ‘national history’ in first two GDR curricula (the 1947 and 1955 curricula) than in later editions (24% and 25% compared to 18% and 12%).

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula are slightly different: in the 1992 edition considerably fewer 'ancient' topics were categorised as 'national history' (9% compared to 25% in 2001) and as 'unspecified' (13% compared to 25% in 2001) and, by extension, significantly more 'ancient' topics deal with 'non-national history' (78% compared to 50%).

Summary/comparison

In all of the curricula the majority of the 'ancient' topics deal with 'non-national history'. However, it was observed that both 'national history' and 'unspecified' feature less prominently in relation to 'ancient history' in the Bavarian curricula than in their GDR counterparts.

ii. Overview: to what extent is 'non-ancient' history taught in conjunction with 'national' / 'non-national' history?

Bavaria

The great majority of 'non-ancient' topics in the Bavarian curricula deal with 'national history' – generally between 69 and 79% (63% in the 1969 edition). Most of the remaining topics are devoted to 'non-national' history, hardly any topics were categorised as 'unspecified'.

GDR

The GDR curricula closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts: in most of the curricula between 70 and 76% of the 'non-ancient' topics deal with 'national history' (only 61% in the 1988 edition). Most the remaining topics were categorised as 'non-national history'; 'unspecified' hardly features.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula are very similar to the Bavarian and the GDR curricula – the only difference is that in the 2001 edition slightly fewer topics deal with ‘non-national history’ (13%) and slightly more topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (7%).

Summary/comparison

In all three sets of the curricula ‘national history’ is predominantly taught in conjunction with ‘non-ancient history’. Furthermore, hardly any ‘non-ancient’ topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

iii. To what extent are different historical periods taught in conjunction with ‘national’/‘non-national’ history?

Prehistory

Bavaria

The extent to which ‘national history’ is taught in conjunction with ‘prehistory’ varies greatly between the Bavarian curricula (between 0 and 100%). The analysis showed a clear trend: in the 1950 curriculum all of the ‘prehistoric’ topics deal with ‘national history’, the number then hugely decreases to 25% in the 1961 edition and 20% in 1969. In the 1980s and in 1993 curricula ‘national history’ is not taught at all in conjunction with ‘prehistory’. After that the practice is taken up again – in the 2001 edition 33% of the ‘prehistoric’ topics were categorised as ‘national history’. Furthermore, it is noticeable that all of the ‘prehistoric’ topics which do not deal with ‘national history’ were categorised as ‘unspecified’; that none of the topics were categorised as ‘non-national history’.

GDR

Generally not many 'prehistoric' topics were categorised as 'national history' in the GDR curricula: 26% in the 1947 edition, none in the 1955 and the 1960s curricula and 4% in the 1988 edition. The first three curricula resemble their Bavarian counterparts – all of the topics which do not deal with 'national history' were categorised as 'unspecified'; none of the 'prehistoric' topics were categorised as 'non-national history'. The 1988 curriculum represents somewhat of an exception in the sense that 35% of the 'prehistoric' topics are devoted to 'non-national history'.

Post-Unification Saxony

20% of the 'prehistoric' topics in the 1992 Saxon curriculum deal with 'national history'; the remaining topics were categorised as 'unspecified'. In the 2001 edition all of the 'prehistoric' topics are 'unspecified'.

ACE (Ancient Civilisations of the East)

Naturally, all 'ACE' topics deal with 'non-national history'.

Ancient Greece

All 'Ancient Greece' topics were categorised as 'non-national history'.

The Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age

Bavaria

In the Bavarian curricula the great majority of the 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics deal with 'non-national history'; only between 13 and 22% (38% in the 1961 edition) of the topics are devoted to 'national history'. None were categorised as 'unspecified' (2% in the 1980s edition).

GDR

Most of the 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics deal with 'non-national history'. The GDR curricula, however, differ from their Bavarian counterparts in the sense that 'national history' is generally more extensively taught in conjunction with this period – the number of 'national' 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics increases steadily from 39% in the 1947 edition to 50% in the 1960s edition. The number of 'national' topics then decreases again – down to 32% in the 1988 curriculum. None of the 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics were categorised as 'unspecified'.

Post-Unification Saxony

Similar to the Bavarian curricula, 20% of the 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics in the 1992 Saxon curriculum deal with 'national history'; 80% with 'non-national history'. The 2004 edition more closely resembles the GDR curricula: 50% of the 'Roman/contemporary Late Iron Age' topics were categorised as 'national history' and 50% as 'non-national history'.

Migration/Medieval Period

Bavaria

The great majority of ‘Migration period/medieval’ topics in the Bavarian curricula are dedicated to ‘national history’: 79% in the 1969 and the 1980s editions and between 84% and 92% in the other curricula. All of the remaining topics deal with ‘non-national history’; none of the ‘Migration period/medieval’ topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (1% in the 1980s curriculum).

GDR

The GDR curricula closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts: between 79 and 84% of the ‘medieval topics’ were categorised as ‘national history’; the remaining topics deal with ‘non-national history’.

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon curricula are very similar to the GDR and Bavarian curricula. The only marked difference is that in the 2004 edition 11% of the ‘Migration period/medieval’ topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

The Early Modern Period

Bavaria

In most of the Bavarian curricula over half of ‘Early Modern’ topics deal with ‘national history’ (46% in the 1969 edition); generally slightly less than in connection with the ‘Migration/medieval period’. The number of ‘Early Modern’ topics categorised as ‘national history’ decreases steadily from 70% in the 1950 edition to 46% in the 1969 edition. In the later curricula, the number of ‘national’ ‘Early Modern’ topics increases again – from 46% in the 1969 edition to 70% in the 2001 edition. Almost all of the

remaining topics deal with 'non-national history'; hardly any 'Early Modern' topics were categorised as 'unspecified' (the 1969 edition is an exception – 14%).

GDR

The GDR curricula closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts in the sense that either half or over half of the 'Early Modern' topics were categorised as 'national history' – again, 'national history' generally features slightly less prominently in conjunction with 'Early Modern history' than with the 'Migration/medieval period'. The analysis shows a steady increase in the number of 'national' 'Early Modern' topics over the years – from 50% in the 1947 curriculum to 76% in the 1988 edition. All the topics which do not deal with 'national history' were categorised as 'non-national history'; 'unspecified' does not feature at all (1% in the 1988 edition).

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon curricula are similar to their Bavarian and GDR counterparts: the 'Early Modern period' is predominantly taught in conjunction with 'national history'. This is especially true for the 1992 edition – 71% of the 'Early Modern' topics were categorised as 'national history' (compared to 56% in the 2004 edition). All of the remaining 'Early Modern' topics deal with 'non-national history'; 'unspecified' does not feature in either of the two curricula.

Modern History

Bavaria

Between 64% (1969 edition) and 100% (1950 curriculum) of 'Modern' topics are devoted to 'national history' – generally, slightly more than in connection to 'Early Modern history' and slightly less than in relation to the 'Migration/medieval period'. In

the first four curricula (1950, 1961, 1969 and 1980s editions) all of the remaining topics deal with ‘non-national history’; none of the topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’. In the two most recent editions (1993 and 2001) ‘unspecified’ features slightly more prominently (3 and 10% respectively).

GDR

Between 75% and 89% of the ‘Modern’ topics in the GDR curricula deal with ‘national history’ – on average slightly more than in their Bavarian counterparts. The remaining topics are concerned with ‘non-national history’ and hardly any topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (2% in the 1960s edition and 1% in the 1988 curriculum).

Post-Unification Saxony

The 1992 Saxon edition is very similar to the Bavarian curricula and especially resembles its 1988 GDR predecessor. The 2004 edition is slightly different: hardly any ‘Modern’ topics deal with ‘non-national history’ (2%) and more topics were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (9%).

Summary/comparison

In all of the curricula ‘national history’ is most extensively taught in conjunction with ‘Early Modern history’, the ‘Modern period’ and, especially, with the ‘Migration/medieval period’. Furthermore, some of the ‘Roman’ topics (usually far below 50%) and some ‘prehistoric’ topics (varies greatly between the curricula) deal with ‘national history’. Whereas ‘unspecified’ features quite prominently in relation to ‘prehistory’, hardly any of the topics in relation to other historical periods were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

iv. To what extent is the history of different areas taught in conjunction with the 'ancient'/'non-ancient past'?

Local history; Local and German history; Local, German and European history; Local and European history; All

Bavaria

The vast majority of the topics concerned with local history in the widest sense deal with 'non-ancient history', some topics were categorised as 'other' and only a very small minority of local history topics are devoted to 'ancient history'.

GDR

Local history is hardly covered in any of the GDR curricula; it only features to a very limited degree in the 1947 and the 1988 edition. In these two curricula it is mostly taught in conjunction with 'non-ancient history'. However, in the 1947 edition a larger percentage of local topics deals with 'ancient history' and generally fewer topics were categorised as 'other' than in the Bavarian curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

Generally, the Saxon curricula closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts – local history in the widest sense is predominantly concerned with 'non-ancient history'; some topics were categorised as 'other' and 'ancient history' hardly features.

German history

Bavaria

In almost all of the Bavarian curricula 'German' topics are exclusively devoted to 'non-ancient history'. The only exceptions are the 1950 and the 2001 editions in which 9% and 8% of the 'German' topics were categorised as 'other'.

GDR

The GDR curricula are very similar to their Bavarian counterparts: 'German' topics are predominantly concerned with 'non-ancient history'. Only in the 1947 and in the 1960s editions were some topics categorised as 'other' (3% and 8%).

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula very closely resemble the Bavarian and GDR curricula: 100% of 'German' topics in 1992 edition and 96% in the 2004 edition deal with 'non-ancient history'.

German and European history

Bavaria

Between 82% and 97% of 'German and European' topics in the Bavarian curricula deal with 'non-ancient' history. 'Ancient history' only features in the first four editions: 8 and 12% of the topics in the 1950 and the 1969 editions and 2 and 3% of the topics in the 1961 and the 1980s curricula were categorised as 'German and European history'. With the exception of the 1950 edition, in all of the Bavarian curricula some of the 'German and European' topics were categorised as 'other' – generally slightly more in the 1993 and 2001 curricula than in the earlier editions.

GDR

The GDR curricula very closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts: the great majority of ‘German and European’ topics are devoted to ‘non-ancient history’ – the number of topics increases steadily from 82% in the 1947 edition to 96% in the 1988 edition. Furthermore, the analysis showed that ‘ancient history’ features more prominently in relation to ‘German and European history’ in the first two curricula (15 and 18% of the topics in the 1947 and the 1955 editions) than in the two more recent editions (5 and 4% in the 1960s and the 1988 editions). ‘Other’ hardly features at all in any of the curricula.

Post-Unification Saxony

100% of the ‘German and European’ topics in the 1992 Saxon curriculum and 72% in the 2004 edition deal with ‘non-ancient history’. Similar to their contemporary Bavarian counterparts, ‘ancient history’ does not feature at all in conjunction with ‘German and European’ topics. 28% of the topics in the 2004 curriculum were categorised as ‘other’ – more than in any of the other curricula.

German, European and world history

Bavaria

Between 70 and 93% of ‘German, European and world’ topics in the Bavarian curricula are concerned with ‘non-ancient history’ and generally far less than one quarter of the topics are devoted to ‘ancient history’ – the percentage of ‘ancient’ ‘German, European and world’ topics steadily increases from 0% in the 1950 edition to 20% in the 1969 edition and then decreases again in subsequent years – from 20% in the 1969 curriculum to 0% and 3% in the 1993 and the 2001 editions. Furthermore, between 0 and 25% of the ‘German, European and world’ topics were categorised as ‘other’.

GDR

In the GDR curricula the great majority of 'German, European and world' topics deals with 'non-ancient history'; only between 0 and 7% of the topics are devoted to 'ancient history'. 'Other' hardly features in most of the curricula (the 1947 edition is an exception – 9%).

Post-Unification Saxony

The vast majority of 'German, European and world' topics in the Saxon curricula are concerned with 'non-national history'; only 7% of the topics are devoted to 'ancient history'. Additionally, 7% of the 'German, European and world' topics in the 2004 edition were categorised as 'other'.

German and world history

'German and world history' is only covered in the 2001 Bavarian curriculum and in the 1947 and 1955 GDR editions – in these cases 'German and world' topics are exclusively concerned with 'non-ancient history'. Furthermore, the subject is also dealt with in the 2004 Saxon curriculum – all of the topics were categorised as 'other'.

European history

Bavaria

In most of the Bavarian curricula, approximately half of the 'European' topics are devoted to 'ancient history' – around 60% in the first two editions and between 40 and 50% in the more recent curricula. The 1993 curriculum is an exception to this – only

28%. Most of the remaining topics are devoted to ‘non-ancient history’; only between 4 and 6% of the ‘European’ topics were categorised as ‘other’.

GDR

Markedly fewer ‘European’ topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’ in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts – between 15 and 35%. All of the remaining topics deal with ‘non-ancient history’; ‘other’ does not feature at all (1% in the 1988 edition).

Post-Unification Saxony

The 1992 Saxon curriculum closely resembles the Bavarian curricula: 42% of ‘European’ topics deal with ‘ancient-’ and 58% with ‘non-ancient history’. In the 2004 edition far fewer topics are devoted to ‘ancient history’ (17%) and far more ‘European’ topics were categorised as ‘other’ (33%).

European and world history

Bavaria

There is a great deal of variation among the Bavarian curricula: between 13 and 56% of the ‘European and world’ topics deal with ‘ancient history’ and between 22 and 88% are concerned with ‘non-ancient history’ (note: there is no clear trend as to which is more/less popular when). ‘Other’ does not feature in most of the curricula (the 1950 edition is an exception: 22%).

GDR

‘European and world history’ is predominantly taught in conjunction with ‘non-ancient history’. By extension, generally only between 0 and 12% of the topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’. The 1947 edition is an exception to this – in this curriculum 42% of the ‘European and world’ topics are concerned with ‘ancient history’. Additionally, on average slightly more ‘European and world’ topics were categorised as ‘other’ in the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts – between 0% and 13%.

Post-Unification Saxony

In both Saxon curricula ‘European and world’ topics are predominantly concerned with ‘non-ancient history’ (69% in 1992 and 100% in 2004). It is worth noting that in the 1992 curriculum 23% of the topics deal with ‘ancient history’ and 8% were categorised as ‘other’.

World history

Bavaria

In the first three Bavarian editions (1950, 1961 and 1969), between 20 and 25% of the ‘world history’ topics deal with ‘ancient history’. The number then decreases to 14% in the 1980s and 0% in 1993. In the most recent curriculum (2001) the percentage of ‘ancient’ ‘world history’ topics increases again to 33%. Generally, the remaining topics (between 67 and 100%) exclusively deal with ‘non-ancient history’; ‘other’ only features in the 1969 edition (15%).

GDR

Generally, ‘ancient history’ is more frequently taught in conjunction with ‘world history’ in most of the GDR curricula than in their Bavarian counterparts. The percentage of ‘ancient’ ‘world history’ topics increases steadily from 41% in the 1947 edition to 81% in 1988. The 1955 curriculum is an exception to this – none of ‘world

history' topics deal with 'ancient history'. Furthermore, it was noted that all of the remaining topics – just under half in the 1947 curriculum, 100% in the 1955 edition and approximately one third in the latest editions – are devoted to 'non-ancient history'.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula both differ from the other curricula discussed so far as well as from each other – in the 1992 edition 47% of 'world history' topics deal with 'ancient history', 47% with 'non-ancient history' and 7% were categorised as 'other'. In the 2004 curriculum all of the 'world history' topics are devoted to 'ancient history'.

Summary/comparison

Generally, in all of the curricula local and national topics (in the widest sense) are almost exclusively devoted to 'non-ancient history'. 'Ancient history' tends to feature more prominently in conjunction with 'European history' (particularly in the Bavarian curricula) as well as with 'world historical' topics (especially the GDR curricula).

Section II.1.3.2.

What role is ascribed 'national history'/'non-national history' in the schoolbooks?

Bavaria

As illustrated above, the Bavarian schoolbooks are very much concerned with Classical history and, to a lesser extent, with the 'ACE'. They also deal with general prehistoric topics and discuss the Post-Migration Period in European and world history to a certain degree. 'German' history only features in the few chapters which are concerned with the Roman provinces, the Germanic tribes, the Migration Period, the Frank Empire and the foundation of the German Reich. In general these chapters take-up very little space in the books. In other words, 'national' history does not represent a very prominent theme

in the sections on the ‘ancient past’ – instead, the majority of the space is devoted to European history (this is especially true for B7 which does not explicitly deal with ‘German national history’ or world history); ‘German’ (as well as world) history is viewed very much in the context of European and/or Occidental history.

GDR

The situation in the GDR books is similar to that in the Bavarian schoolbooks – with the exception of GDR2 (which is largely concerned with ‘German’ history) the books predominantly deal with ‘non-national’ history. It is, however, worth noting that they tend to focus less on European history and that, at the same time, world history (especially the ‘ACE’) is slightly more extensively covered than in their Bavarian counterparts.

Post-Unification Saxony

The same is true for the Saxon schoolbooks – neither of the two books devotes much space to ‘German national history’. Like their contemporary Bavarian counterparts, the Saxon books focus very much on European history.

Summary/comparison

‘National’ history does not represent a prominent theme in relation to the ‘ancient past’ in any of the schoolbooks (possibly with the exception of the GDR2). However, whereas the FRG books focus very much on European and/or Occidental history, most of the GDR books are equally concerned with historical developments in other areas of the world.

Question II.1.4.

Which types of history do the schoolbooks focus on?

Note: please see V.II.4.4. for tables and figures.

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks focus predominantly on political and cultural history (between 18 and 28% of the topics ascribed to the ‘ancient past’ deal with political history and between 20 and 29% of the chapters are concerned with cultural history in the widest sense). Additionally, military history represents a fairly common theme in most of the textbooks – this is particularly true for B1 to B6 (between 18 and 21% of the sections concerned with ‘ancient history’ were categorised as military history), less so for the two latest editions (between 9 and 11%). Economic and social history feature less heavily (between 7 and 16% of the sections concerned with ‘ancient history’ deal with economic history and between 8 and 14% are concerned with social history). Revolutionary history is the least important category in all of the Bavarian books; it is hardly covered at all (between 0 and 3% of the chapters devoted to the ‘ancient past’ were categorised as revolutionary history).

GDR

As in the Bavarian schoolbooks, cultural history in the widest sense features heavily in the GDR textbooks (between 17 and 25% of the sections devoted to the ‘ancient past’ are concerned with cultural history). It is worth noting that the qualitative analysis indicates that the GDR books tend to focus on technological progress, whereas the Bavarian schoolbooks concentrate more on religious topics. Furthermore, the GDR schoolbooks differ very much from the Bavarian schoolbooks in the sense that both economic and social history feature more heavily (between 18 and 23% of the sections concerned with ‘ancient history’ deal with economic history and, between 19 and 28% with social history). At the same time, considerably fewer chapters are devoted to

political history (between 11 and 16%) and military history (between 9 and 14%). Furthermore, the analysis showed that revolutionary history is ascribed a slightly more prominent role in the GDR books than in their Bavarian counterparts (between 4 and 8% of the chapters concerned with 'ancient history').

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books resemble their Bavarian counterparts in the sense that both cultural and, to a lesser degree, political history are ascribed especially prominent roles – between 22 and 29% of the chapters concerned with the 'ancient past' were categorised as cultural history, and between 14 and 19% as political history. Economic history features less extensively in the two Saxon books than in their GDR predecessors – similar to the Bavarian schoolbooks only between 11 and 14% of the chapters devoted to the 'ancient past' are concerned with the subject. Interestingly, social history plays a less important role in S1 (which closely resembles its Bavarian counterparts) than in S2 (which is similar to the GDR schoolbooks): 11% of the chapters devoted to 'ancient history' compared to 18%. In both Saxon books 12% of the chapters concerned with the 'ancient past' were categorised as military history, less than in the early Bavarian books and approximately the same as in the two latest Bavarian editions and in the GDR textbooks. Finally, revolutionary history does not represent a very common theme in the Saxon textbooks – in both books only 3% of the chapters devoted to the 'ancient past' were categorised as revolutionary history.

Summary/comparison

Cultural history features heavily in all of schoolbooks (although the way it is dealt with varies slightly between the GDR and the FRG books). Furthermore, the analysis showed that the FRG books place more emphasis on political history than their GDR counterparts. The GDR books, on the other hand, are more concerned with economic and social history than the Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks (with the exception of S2 which more closely resembles the GDR books with regards to social history). Military

history features in all of the schoolbooks but is especially prominent in the early Bavarian editions. Finally, revolutionary history is the least important category in all of the textbooks. However, it features more prominently in some of the GDR books than in the remaining schoolbooks.

Research Area 2

Interpretations and Underlying Assumptions – and what they can tell us about the public historical consciousness and national identity

Question II.2.1.

Whose perspective are the schoolbooks written from? Are students made to feel part of a particular group/are they ‘drawn into’ a particular group? Do the books use ‘homeland deities’ to make students feel part of a particular group? Who are the ‘in’- and ‘out-groups’ and how are they defined? How does this relate to German national identity, the German ‘Volk’ and/or country?

Bavaria

The Bavarian schoolbooks are written from a number of different, closely related perspectives which can be linked to the different facets of the same identity.

1. All of the early Bavarian books (B1 to B6) are written from a **Christian perspective** (note: this is less pronounced in B6):
 - *Biases in the text:* All are very biased towards Christianity – both in terms of how much space they devote to discussing Christianity (especially compared to other religions) as well as in their very explicit promotion of the Christian faith and values (see II.2.2. and II.2.3).
 - *References to the legacy of the past:* This is especially visible in B2, B4 and B5 – the books are very much concerned with the origins of the Christian religion and the church; they explain how ‘we’ got to where ‘we’ are.
 - *Representations of the ‘Other’:* This is a particularly prominent theme in B5 and B6 which portray Christianity in contrast to Islam; the two books very much focus on comparisons between the two religions (between the familiar and the foreign).

2. The early Bavarian books are all, to a greater or lesser extent, written from an **Occidental perspective** (B1 to B6):

- *References to the legacy of the past*: This is particularly prominent in B2, B3 and B4. The books are greatly concerned with the impact of the ‘ancient past’ on the Occident, on ‘our’ heritage and traditions.
- *Prominent theme*: In almost all of the early Bavarian books (B2 to B6) the Occident represents an important theme; it is often referred to as an entity.
- *Representations of the ‘Other’*: B3 and B4 in particular contain several references to the Occidental ‘in-group’ versus an Oriental ‘out-group’.

3. All of the books are written from a **European perspective**. This is, however, particularly pronounced in the later schoolbooks (in B6, B8 and, especially, in B7):

- *References to the legacy of the past*: All of the textbooks (possibly with the exception of B5) are concerned with the impact of the ‘ancient past’ on European traditions, practices and culture. They explain how ‘we’ became who ‘we’ are¹⁰.
- *Prominent theme*: Europe represents a very prominent theme especially in the most recent editions. Most of the books refer to ‘Europe’ as entity¹¹.
- *The use of ‘homeland deixies’* (‘us’, ‘we’, ‘ours’ etc – see Billig 1995) *and representations of the ‘Other’*: B5 and B6 explicitly refer to ‘us’ Europeans¹². Furthermore, B3, for instance, contains several references to the European ‘in-group’ versus a non-European ‘out-group’.

¹⁰ „Classical history – the cradle of Europe“ (B8a: 202).

¹¹ „The world of the Roman and its significance for Europe“ (B7: 33).

¹² „Despite the great variety in architectural styles in the countries between the Atlantic Ocean and Central Asia, all mosque resemble each other in the fact that they appear empty to Europeans/the European“ (B5b: 21).

„The extent to which Europe learnt from the Arabs can still be seen today in our vocabulary ...“ (B6a: 157).

- *Comparisons between past and present*: This is particularly prominent in B8 which compares ‘ancient Europe’ to the present-day European Union¹³.

4. All of the books are, to a greater or lesser extent, written from a **German perspective** (this is especially true for B6 and is not very prominent in B7):

- *The use of ‘homeland deixies’*: These are especially common in the early editions (B1 to B5) and mostly relate to the German language (‘our’ German language) as well as to German ancestors (‘our’ ancestors)¹⁴.
- *Didactic tools and reference points for students*: These are more frequent in the later Bavarian books (B5 to B8). Didactic tools and reference points for students make it very clear within which framework/from which perspective the books were written¹⁵.
- *Comparisons between the past and the present*: Many of the books (especially the later editions – B6, B7 and B8) compare ‘ancient’ practices, traditions, etc., with those in modern day Germany/the FRG. These comparisons seem to be largely intended to help students understand alien concepts by relating them to situations with which they are familiar¹⁶.
- *References to the legacy of the past*: As seen above, the schoolbooks are all concerned with the origins and the development of certain aspects of German history, and elements of German traditions and culture¹⁷.
- *Jews and Muslims in German society*: Several schoolbooks mention the life and/or integration of Jews and/or Muslims in modern German

¹³ “In Germany and the other member states of the European Union a new currency has been introduced: the euro. Do you see any similarities between the euro and the Ancient Roman currency?” (B8a: 142).

¹⁴ “For us Germans, his work ‘Germania’ is one of the most precious sources of Germanic history” (B2a: 132-3).

¹⁵ “The Great Pyramid of Giza and Cologne Cathedral” (B6a: 29).

¹⁶ “Compare the sacrosanctity of the Roman tribunes with the parliamentary immunity of our MPs” (B6a: 94).

“In the Federal Republic of Germany, families with large numbers of children also receive support. What form does this support take?” (B6a: 112)

¹⁷ “When the Germanic tribes adopted new ideas and artefacts, they also adopted the Latin names for them. This is why we have so many Latin loan words in our German language” (B6a: 127).

society (an especially prominent theme in B8). These sections make it clear that the books are written from a German perspective¹⁸.

5. The books are not obviously written from a **West German perspective**. However, some of the textbooks compare ‘ancient’ practices to life in the FRG and B6 compares the Limes (the Roman ‘border’ between the Roman Empire and ‘free Germania’) to the border with the GDR.
6. With the exception of B1 (possibly because the second volume was not available), all of the books are written from a **local, Bavarian perspective**. This is an especially prominent theme in B6. This is visible in:
 - *References to the legacy of the past*: Especially B4, B6 and B8 are concerned with the origins and the development of Bavarian history¹⁹
 - *Prominent theme*: Bavarian history represents an integral part of the historical narrative as presented in the schoolbooks (again, B1 is an exception).
 - *Didactic tools and reference points for students*²⁰: For example, B6, B7 and B8 refer to local Bavarian museums and cities. B6 and B7 ask students to investigate aspects of Bavarian history and to compare them to the ‘ancient past’.

Finally, two points deserve special attention: first, the analysis showed that ‘homeland deixies’ in schoolbooks do not reveal much information about the presentation of ‘in’- and ‘out-groups’; in most cases they are not used to foster group-affiliations and/or ‘draw’ students into a particular group. As we have seen, only very few ‘deixies’ directly refer to particular identities/groups (such as the Germans or the Europeans). The majority of the ‘homeland deixies’, however, appear either in relation to historical knowledge and practices (including sources and terminology), in connection to the legacy of the past or in comparisons between the past and the present (an unspecified

¹⁸ “Discuss which of those demands made on a practicing Muslim living and working in the Federal Republic of Germany you believe to be the most difficult for him to fulfil” (B8a: 196).

¹⁹ “The many archaeological findings from the Roman era which have been discovered in southern Bavaria also give us a vivid picture of the influence of Roman culture on our homeland” (B5a: 170).

²⁰ “Without the islands the country was approximately as big as Bavaria” (B2a: 28).

‘us’ in the present). Additionally, homeland deixis are used to address the group of readers (for example, as ‘we’ have seen ...).

Second, the analysis showed that the ‘Other’ does not represent a very prominent theme in any of the Bavarian schoolbooks; generally the books are more concerned with defining the ‘in-group’. However, all of the books, to a certain extent, compare and contrast the West (associated with the Occident, Europe, Christianity, freedom) with the East (associated with Arabs, Islam, Orient and despotism)²¹. It is important to note that not all of the textbooks attach positive/negative values exclusively to either group – especially from B5 onwards, the books highlight the strong and weak points of both cultures.

GDR

All of the GDR books are also written from a number of different, closely related perspectives which can be linked to the different facets of the same identity.

1. All are written from a **socialist perspective**:

- *Structure and subject-matter*: The books portray history according to the Marxist-Leninist world view; they focus on historical progress and see history as being divided into a number of successive stages. Additionally, the books focus very much on technological developments, human socio-economic organisation and class-struggle.
- *Biases in the text*: Historical events and periods are judged and evaluated very much in accordance with socialist values and the Marxist-Leninist view of history.
- *Values communicated in the books*: The GDR books very much promote and communicate socialist values (see II.2.3.).

²¹ “The Ancient Greeks had to fight a hard war in order to remain free and independent of the mighty Persian Empire. By winning this great conflict between East and West – which lasted for fifty years – they were able to preserve the liberty of their own country and that of Europe” (B5a: 62).

- *References to the legacy of the past:* Most of the books explain why socialism is the only possible outcome of historical development and why it is right and just.
- *Didactical tools and reference points for students:* All of the schoolbooks, to varying degrees, refer to practices, traditions, etc., in the GDR and/or in other socialist countries. This seems to be intended to help students develop an understanding of the unknown by comparing it to/presenting it in the context of something they are familiar with.
- *Reasons for teaching history:* See I.4.
- *References to 'sozialistische Freundschaftsländer' and the socialist world system:* These are especially common in GDR1, GDR3 and GDR5 – the books stress the close relationship and friendship between the GDR and other socialist countries²².

2. Like the Bavarian schoolbooks, all of the GDR textbooks are written from a **German perspective:**

- *Structure and subject-matter:* German history represents an important theme in all of the books.
- *References to the legacy of the past:* All are concerned with the emergence of the German state, the German '*Volk*' and German traditions.
- *The use of 'homeland deixies':* All make references to 'our' German '*Volk*' (these are especially frequent in GDR3 and GDR4) and/or to 'us, Germans' (these are particularly common in GDR2, GDR5 and GDR6)²³.

3. All are written from an **East German/a GDR perspective** (this is particularly true for the later editions – GDR5 and GDR6):

²² "The huge country of China is today a mighty people's republic with which we are bound in firm friendship" (GDR3a: 37).

²³ "A thousand years ago, the territory of our German homeland was not only inhabited by the Germanic tribes ..." (GDR2a: 77).

- *Didactical tools and reference points for students*: Most of the books use examples from the GDR to help explain new and unfamiliar concepts, practices and ideas to students. Most of the textbooks mark the location of the GDR on maps to help students understand where they are in relation to the ‘ancient’ cultures referred to in the text²⁴. Many of the schoolbooks ask students to investigate the history of their home-country.
- *Comparisons between the past and the present*: Most of the books compare ‘ancient’ events and practices with the situation in the GDR. These comparisons seem to be intended to help students understand unfamiliar concepts and ideas and to guide them in their evaluation of the past²⁵
- *References to the legacy of the past*: Most of the books, to a greater or lesser extent, explain how the foundation of the GDR, a socialist German state, is the right and necessary outcome of historical development.
- *The use of ‘homeland deixies’*: ‘Homeland deixies’ referring to ‘us, in the GDR’ are fairly frequent in the later GDR books (GDR3 to GDR6)²⁶.

As in the case of the Bavarian books, ‘homeland deixies’ largely appear in contexts which are not directly related or relevant to issues of identity: they are most frequently found in connection to ‘our’ knowledge of the past, historical/archaeological terminology and methods (for instance, ‘we know that ...’, ‘we call that ...’), as well as in comparisons between the past and an unspecified group of people in the present (‘they used to ..., now we do it like ...’). Furthermore, some of the ‘deixies’ are used to directly address the readers (as ‘we’ have seen, etc.).

Generally, the GDR textbooks are more concerned with defining the ‘in-’ than the ‘out-group’. However, with regard to the ‘Other’, it was observed that the East/West

²⁴ “In addition to this, the borders of the German Democratic Republic are shown, making it easier to see where the areas mentioned here are located in relation to our Republic” (GDR5a: 25).

²⁵ “Use the knowledge you acquired during your history lessons in the lower years and the contribution made by your parents to the running of our German Democratic Republic in order to demonstrate that our country is governed very differently to other countries!” (GDR5a: 118).

²⁶ “What examples of the establishment of cities in our Republic can you think of?” (GDR3b: 117).

(Orient/Occident) contrast is less pronounced in the GDR books than in their Bavarian counterparts. Instead, the books tend to portray the 'Other' much more frequently in terms of the class-enemy: all of the books (some more openly than others) animate the students to condemn and hate the oppressing and exploitative classes and, by extension, to show solidarity with and develop pride in those forces and people who are fighting/fought against injustice, exploitation and occupation. Linked to this, most of the GDR books divide the world into progressive and reactionary forces; socialist versus non-socialist countries (especially prominent in GDR6), into 'us' versus them.

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon schoolbooks closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts (especially the later editions) – they are written from following perspectives:

1. Like the most recent Bavarian schoolbooks, both of the Saxon books are written from a **European perspective**:
 - *References to the legacy of the past*: Both of the books very much deal with the origins of Europe and with the impact of the 'ancient past' on European traditions, culture and practices²⁷.
 - *The use of 'homeland deixies'*: The books contain some 'deixies' referring to modern Europeans²⁸.
2. The Saxon textbooks, like their Bavarian and GDR counterparts, are written from a **German perspective**. This is mainly visible in:
 - *Didactical tools and reference points for students*: These appear in both books and are very similar to those in the Bavarian textbooks²⁹.

²⁷ „Europe emerges“ (S1b: 37).

²⁸ “From the thirteenth century onwards, the Europeans learnt the West Arabian numbers from the Arabs – these are the numbers we still use today” (S2a: 206).

²⁹ “Islam is a world religion. More than one billion people now adhere to this faith and more than one and a half million of them live here among us. The majority of these are Turks who came to Germany as “guest workers” and their families. Maybe there are boys or girls in your class who are Muslims” (S1b: 36).

- *References to the legacy of the past:* See Bavarian schoolbooks and II.2.2.
- *Comparisons between the past and the present:* Both of the books use examples from modern Germany to help explain and to set into context ‘ancient’ practices and structures.
- *Student tasks:* S2 asks students to explore German history.

3. S1 is written from a **local, Saxon perspective**. This is visible in:

- *Prominent theme:* ‘*Unsere Heimat*’ (our home-area) and Saxon history are prominent themes.

The analysis of ‘homeland deixies’ in the Saxon books has not produced many interesting insights into public notions of identity; ‘deixies’ are mainly used in contexts not related to issues of identity – see sections on the Bavarian and GDR schoolbooks for more detail.

Additionally, like the Bavarian and GDR textbooks, the Saxon schoolbooks do not focus very much on the ‘Other’. However – like their Bavarian counterparts – the two books contrast and compare East and West (the Middle East, Islam and Europeans) to a certain extent.

Summary/comparison

Both the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks are written from a number of perspectives which can be related to the different facets of identity: all three sets of schoolbooks are, to a certain extent, written from a German point of view. The FRG books display a European (and/or Occidental), a local and – in the Bavarian books – a Christian perspective. In contrast, the GDR schoolbooks are written from an East German and a socialist point of view. Furthermore, none of the books place much emphasis on

exploring the ‘Other’ in opposition to the ‘in-group’. However, whereas the FRG books tend to compare and contrast the West/Occident with the East/Orient, the GDR books largely portray the ‘Other’ in terms of the class-enemy. Finally, the analysis of ‘homeland deixies’ has not produced valuable insights into public notions of identity; with a few exceptions, ‘deixies’ are used in contexts not related to identity.

Question II.2.2.

Do the books deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’? If so, how?

i. Who (which group) is portrayed as the heirs of the legacy of the ‘ancient past’? Whose past/heritage is it and to whom does it matter?

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’ and its impact on different ‘groups’ in the present; on their practices, values, traditions and culture. By writing the history of these ‘groups’, the books reinforce and forge identities of people in the present. They generate a common feeling of belonging based on common roots. However, it is important to understand that because the textbooks do not exclusively focus on the history of a single ‘group’ of people in the present (for example, the Germans) but deal with the legacy of the past and its impact on a range of different – but not mutually exclusive – ‘groups’, they promote a complex and multi-faceted identity made-up of several ‘building-blocks’.

What are the ‘building-building blocks’ of the multi-faceted identity promoted in the Bavarian schoolbooks? All of the textbooks focus on the origins and the development of following ‘groups’/ ‘identities’:

- **The Occident and Europe:** Whereas the early Bavarian schoolbooks (B1 to B4 and, to a lesser extent, B5 and B6) are very much concerned with the emergence

and the roots of the Occident³⁰, the two most recent editions (B7 and B8) focus on the history of Europe (portrayed as an entity) and the emergence of European culture, practices, politics and values³¹.

- **Germany and German history** (note: B1 was excluded from this part of the analysis as the second volume was not available): With the exception of B7 all of the Bavarian schoolbooks, to a greater or lesser extent, deal with legacy of the ‘ancient past’ and its impact on Germany/the German people – they all discuss the emergence and the origins of the German state, the German people and German culture³².
- **Bavaria and Bavarian history** (note: B1 was again excluded): With the exception of B7, all the schoolbooks deal with the emergence of Bavarian history – an especially prominent theme in B4³³.
- **Christianity/the Christian community of faith:** The roots of Christianity and the modern Christian church are important themes especially (but not exclusively) in the early Bavarian textbooks³⁴.

In summary, by writing about the legacy of the past, the Bavarian schoolbooks contribute/intend to contribute to the formation/creation of students’ identities – knowledge of the past helps ‘us’ to become familiar and comfortable with ‘our’ roots,

³⁰ "Attila's power had been broken on the battlefield and Western Europe saved from being overrun by the Asiatic hordes. The shared experience of fighting this monumental battle resulted in the first stirrings of a new consciousness in the Western European peoples: the concept of an Occidental community of nations was born" (B3b: 8).

³¹ "The Roman legal system came to occupy a significant position in world history. This sophisticated system of legislation, which was preserved in written records, was used in the Middle Ages as the foundation for our European tradition of written, verifiable, and actionable law" (B7: 56).

³² "Explain the terms 'democracy' and 'republic' in a short article. Which languages do these terms come from? Using Paragraph 20 of the Basic Constitutional Law of the Federal Republic of Germany to help you prove [...] that they still have significance for our society today" (B8a: 204).

³³ "The traces left by the Romans were – and are – still visible in Bavaria. After the Romans left, people continued to use the old Roman towns and roads; Latin became the language of administration; Bavarian noblemen ran the Roman estates and Bavarian yokels happily tended orchards and vineyards which had been planted by the Romans" (B8a:191).

³⁴ "Israel owes its special position in world history to the fact that it switched to a belief in a single, superior being – a personal God – at some point in prehistory. Not only that, it maintained its new creed despite being an island in a sea of pantheism. This enabled Jesus Christ, Son of God and Saviour of All Mankind, to stem from the midst of this people" (B2a:18).

traditions, values and practices. The Bavarian books trace the origins and history of four main groups of people in the present: Occidentals/Europeans, Germans, Bavarians and Christians and as such promote a multi-faceted identity which incorporates these four elements.

GDR

The GDR textbooks, too, are concerned with forging a multi-faceted identity; they trace the origins and the development of certain groups and practices and use this to justify affiliations and allegiances in the present. How this is done and the identities and allegiances promoted differ quite considerably from their Bavarian counterparts. All six GDR books are fairly homogenous in their approach. They focus on the origins and the development of following ‘groups’/ ‘identities’:

- **Germany and German history:** Like the Bavarian books, all of the GDR textbooks (particularly GDR2 and GDR6) are, to a certain extent, concerned with the emergence and the development of Germany and German history³⁵.
- **Socialism, the socialist world order:** The GDR books focus very much on cultural, scientific and technological progress and its impact on human society and world historical processes. All of the books deal with the origins and the development of different forms of socio-economic and socio-political organisation. These topics are presented very much in line with the Marxist-Leninist world view of history – history is seen as a series of progressive steps (brought about by technological, economic, etc., progress and class struggle) which eventually result in the establishment of socialism/communism. In short, the GDR textbooks explain the origins of the current world order according to Marxist-Leninist ideology and as such legitimise and promote a socialist (and by extension, a GDR) identity and allegiances with other socialist countries³⁶.

³⁵"In the course of this academic year, you will become familiar with the origins of German history. You will learn about the situation in western and central Europe directly prior to the beginnings of German history, and you will learn how the German state and the German people came into being" (GDR6b: 6).

³⁶"But even in those days, people still dreamed of a better future and fought courageously for a Socialist world like the one which has become a reality in our country" (GDR6a:5).

In summary, the results of the analysis suggest that the GDR schoolbooks promote a socialist German identity; that they aim to ‘create’ convinced and committed socialists who believe in, and fight for, the GDR and the socialist future of the world.

Post-Unification Saxony

The analysis of the references to the legacy of the past showed that both Saxon books are predominantly concerned with fostering a multi-faceted identity consisting of the following ‘building-blocks’:

- **German identity:** Like their Bavarian and GDR counterparts, the Saxon textbooks (S2 more than S1) are concerned with the roots, origins and development of German history, the German state and German culture, etc..³⁷
- **European identity:** Much like the two latest Bavarian books, both of the Saxon schoolbooks (especially S1) are concerned with the origins of ‘Europe’, of European culture and politics – and, in the case of S2, also with European religion and the European approach to technology/science³⁸.

The two Saxon schoolbooks are, in some respects, very similar to their Bavarian counterparts – they are concerned with promoting a multi-faceted identity which incorporates affiliations with both Germany and Europe. However, neither the local nor the Christian identities feature to the same extent as in the Bavarian books.

Summary/comparison

³⁷“Find the corresponding German words for the Latin terms in B5. Pay attention to which areas of life the words originate from. What does their adoption tell us about the Germanic tribes' relationship to Roman culture?” (S2a: 161).

³⁸“Many of the things which we now take for granted were adopted from Greco-Roman culture. The Romans led Europe in the fields of technology and economics, in the arts and sciences, and in many other areas” (S1a:137).

All of the schoolbooks deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’ and its impact on different groups. By writing about the history and the origins of these groups the books intend to reinforce and shape/direct the students’ feeling of identity. The analysis showed that in all of the schoolbooks a multi-faceted identity is communicated; German national identity is linked to other forms of group-affiliations and alliances. The way in which this is done varies slightly between three sets of books: the GDR textbooks promote a socialist sense of national identity, the Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks connect German and European/Occidental identities and, at the same time, the Bavarian textbooks also foster a sense of local and Christian identity.

ii. What does the legacy of the ‘ancient past’ consist of? How is the ‘ancient past’ made relevant to modern life, which aspects of modern life are thought to be affected by the ‘ancient past’? To what extent is the ‘ancient past’ made relevant to modern life in Germany/the modern Germans?

Bavaria

The Bavarian schoolbooks tend to focus on the legacy of certain peoples and/or periods; they underline and evaluate the ‘contribution’ and the impact/significance of different periods/peoples on the present (note: this is particularly pronounced in B2, B3, B6, B7 and B8). The following aspects of modern life/modern practices are said to have been shaped or influenced by the ‘ancient past’:

- **Cultural legacy of the past (including science and technology):**
 1. *General:* This is one of the main themes in all of the Bavarian schoolbooks. Many of the textbooks tend to focus especially on Classical heritage (for example, B5 and B6).
 2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria):* All of the books (especially B3) deal with the cultural legacy of the ‘ancient past’ and its impact on German history to a certain extent (note: in B3 and B4 the Germanic past is considered particularly important and influential). However, the books place more emphasis on the origins of

European/Occidental cultural practices. These are said to be rooted in Classical history and Christian traditions, as well as Germanic heritage (the last two factors are particularly pronounced in B3 and B5). Additionally, some of the books (especially B4) are also concerned with the legacy of the Celtic past and its influence on Bavarian culture.³⁹

- **Religious legacy of the past:**

1. *General:* All of the books deal with the ‘religious legacy’ of the ‘ancient past’ – they mostly focus on Christianity but some of schoolbooks also mention the origins of other religions (such as Islam – see B5 and B6).
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria):* This is not a very prominent theme in relation to German history in particular – although most of the Bavarian schoolbooks cover the emergence and development of the church and the Christian faith in early Bavarian and German history. The religious legacy of the past is somewhat more pronounced in relation to Occidental history (especially in B3, B4 and B5).⁴⁰

- **‘Political legacy’ of the past:**

1. *General:* All of the Bavarian schoolbooks are concerned with the origins of some ‘key’ political concepts and forms of socio-political organisation and evaluate their impact on the present. The books particularly stress the influence of the Athenian democracy.

³⁹ "Ancient Greek culture formed the basis of Roman culture, from which it passed on into the culture of the European Occident. At various points during the High Middle Ages, philosophers began reading the writings of the Ancient Greek philosophers – especially Aristotle's – and putting them to practical use. They rediscovered the teachings of the Ancient Greek philosophers and used the forms of logical thought employed by the Ancient Greeks as the basis for their academic work. The modern natural sciences began to develop from this manner of thought. Ancient Greek literature, art, and architecture now served as models for their modern counterparts. Entire epochs – the epochs of the Renaissance and of Humanism in the 15th and 16th centuries; the epochs of Classicism and the Classical Period in the 18th and 19th centuries – bear particularly eloquent witness to the continuing influence of Ancient Greek culture" (B6a: 76).

⁴⁰ "Which lasting cultural achievements do we owe to the Sumerians?" (B3a: 25).

⁴⁰ "Originally inspired by the figure of Jesus Christ, the Christian faith spread beyond the borders of Palestine and has been shaping historical developments ever since" (B1: 9).

"When Boniface [...] was put to death by Frisian heathens in 754 while trying to spread the Gospel, the German church he left behind was a totally rigid, Rome-led structure which the coming storms were not able to destroy. This Anglo-Saxon nobleman and great saint has gone down in history as the 'German apostle'. He lies at rest in Fulda. His legacy has proved to be more lasting than that of the generals and kings of his time, and of those who came in the centuries that followed" (B3b: 17).

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: None of the Bavarian schoolbooks deal extensively with the political legacy of the ‘ancient past’ and its impact on Germany in particular. B2, B3 and B8 do, however, mention the influence of Classical and/or early medieval history on the development of German political history as well as on the political organisation/value-system in modern Germany. In some of the Bavarian textbooks (especially B3, B4, B7 and B8) the political legacy of the past is dealt with more comprehensively and explicitly in relation to European/Occidental history. These books tend to focus on the influence of the Greek and/or the early medieval period. None of the books deal with the political legacy of the ‘ancient past’ in relation to Bavarian history.⁴¹

- **Judicial legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: Almost all of the Bavarian schoolbooks (bar B1 and B4) deal with the emergence of the concept of ‘justice’ and stress the influence of Roman law on modern judicial systems.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: Most of the later Bavarian books (B5, B6 and B8) emphasise the great impact of Roman law on the German judicial system. B2, B5 and B8 are also concerned with the influence it had on Europe/the Occident as a whole as well as on individual European countries.⁴²

- **Ethnic legacy of the past/the origins of modern peoples:**

1. *General*: Most of the books mention the origins of a number of different ethnic groups. This is particularly explicit in B3 and B4 which write about ‘Bluterbe’ (blood heritage) and ‘völkische(s)-Vorfahren/Erbe’ (ethnic ancestors/heritage). However, generally the ethnic legacy of the

⁴¹ “Cleisthenes can be credited with creating a democratic system whose influence is still being felt today and which provided the model for our modern democracies” (B2a: 50).

“Without the experience of the Ancient Greeks, which has been handed down to us predominantly by the writings of their poets, philosophers, and historians, 18th and 19th century Europeans would never have contemplated replacing their kings with parliaments elected by the people” (B7: 32).

⁴² “The influence of the Corpus Juris Civilis can still be felt today: The legal systems of many states – for example, Germany, Russia, Egypt, and Japan – are based on Roman law. The field of jurisprudence is an unparalleled example of how Ancient Rome is still shaping Europe” (B8a: 161).

‘ancient past’ is not a very prominent theme in any of the Bavarian schoolbooks.

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: Most of the books very superficially deal with the ethnic heritage of the Germans – for example, bar B6 and B7, all of the schoolbooks refer to the Germanic tribes as ‘our’ ancestors without discussing the issue in any detail. The later Bavarian books also explain the origins of the term ‘*deutsch*’ (German) – where it comes from and when it first appeared. Furthermore, some of the early Bavarian books (especially B2 and B3) are, to some degree, concerned with the ethnic origins of modern Bavarians – the books stress both the Celtic and the Macromanni roots of the Bavarian people. Finally, while some of the textbooks deal with the origins of particular ‘European’ peoples (usually to a very limited extent), generally the books do not focus on the ethnic legacy of the past in relation to Europeans/Occidentals.⁴³

- **States:**

1. *General*: All of the books are, to varying degrees, concerned with the origins of modern states/countries, especially the later editions (B4, B5, B6 and B8).
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: Most of the textbooks (bar B1 – possibly because the second volume was not available, B2 and B7) are concerned with the origins of the German state. They all also, to a lesser extent, mention the emergence of other European countries/states – especially France (possibly because early French and German history are closely connected).⁴⁴

- **Language, place names and terminology:**

1. *General*: All of the books are concerned with the origins of certain languages, language families, terminologies and place names.

⁴³ “Among the modern European peoples whose blood is partly Celtic number the English, French, and Swiss, and also the Southern Germans, especially the Bavarians and Austrians” (B2b: 15).

⁴⁴ “From this point onwards, the Eastern Empire gradually developed into Germany and the Western Empire developed into France – each with its own king” (B3b: 27).

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: All of the Bavarian schoolbooks deal, to varying degrees, with the origins and the development of the German language as well as with the roots of certain terms. Additionally, some of the textbooks (especially B3, B4 and B8) are particularly concerned with explaining the origins of local/Bavarian place names. The ‘linguistic legacy’ of the past (in the broadest sense) is not extensively dealt with in relation to Europe/the Occident.⁴⁵

- **Cities:**

1. *General*: Most of the Bavarian books are, to a certain extent, concerned with the origins and the development of a number of different cities.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria)*: The early Bavarian books (B1 to B3) deal with the roots and the emergence of various German cities – especially those founded by the Romans. The topic is less prominent in the later editions. Interestingly, all of the Bavarian books (bar B1 – although this might be because the second volume was not available, and B6) mention the emergence of Bavarian cities – B4 and B5 in particular emphasise the Celtic origins of some of the cities.⁴⁶

- **Conflicts**: B8 mentions that certain conflicts – for example, in the Balkans – have their origins in the ‘ancient past’.⁴⁷

GDR

The GDR books differ considerably from their Bavarian counterparts in terms of how they deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’: first, they are less concerned with the legacy of particular cultures/peoples and, instead, focus more on wider

⁴⁵ “The language of the Celts lives on today in Ireland, Wales, and Brittany. But in southern Germany too, the Celts live on in the names of many rivers, mountains, and places” (B5a: 162).

⁴⁶ “Many Bavarian cities can trace their origins back to a large Celtic settlement – for example: Cambodunum (Kempten), Radasbona (Regensburg), Serviodurum (Straubing), Boiodurum (Passau)” (B4a: 8).

⁴⁷ “The Schism of 1054 also split the Slavic peoples in two; and this split has repeatedly led to conflict and war within the Slavic family of nations, right up to the present day” (B8a: 195).

historical processes, on general trends and developments. Second, they focus more on the origins of Germany/German practices and traditions than the Bavarian schoolbooks and, at the same time, are less concerned with the impact of the past on Europe/the Occident and local areas. Furthermore, whereas the GDR and the Bavarian schoolbooks draw continuities between the ‘ancient past’ and the present in similar areas of life, the way this is done varies considerably between the two sets of books. To elaborate:

- **Cultural legacy the past:**

1. *General:* The GDR textbooks, too, focus very much on the cultural legacy of the ‘ancient past’ (note: technology represents an especially important theme, much more so than in the Bavarian schoolbooks). However, unlike in their Bavarian counterparts, ‘ancient’ cultural achievements are generally seen as being deeply embedded in wider historical processes – they are seen as both expressions of, and triggers for, historical progress. Furthermore, unlike the Bavarian textbooks which focus on Classical history, the GDR books concentrate very much on the cultural legacy of the ‘ancient past’ in relation to the ‘ACE’, the Arabs and – from GDR4 onwards – the Greeks⁴⁸.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Bavaria):* The cultural legacy of the past is not a very prominent theme in relation to German, European or local history.

- **Political legacy of the past:**

1. *General:* All of the GDR schoolbooks – especially the more recent ones (GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6) – are concerned with the origins of different forms of socio-political organisation⁴⁹. Furthermore, all of the books – more or less explicitly – deal with the origins of socialist practices; they

⁴⁸ “In which respects was the new class society an improvement on primeval society? a.) give examples from the areas of culture and economics! b.) What is the significance of the production of surplus crops and goods in this context?” (GDR4a: 115).

“We owe paper, books, the pen, and ink to the Ancient Orient” (GDR5a: 67).

⁴⁹ “Around five thousand years ago, the first cities in human history came into being here” (GDR6a: 40).

portray socialism as the natural outcome of history. This is an especially prominent theme in the later schoolbooks (GDR5 and GDR6)⁵⁰.

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: As most of the books portray socialism as the only possible/just outcome of history, they – more or less directly – justify the political system in the GDR. Additionally, some of the books are concerned with the origins of certain policies and political practices/ambitions said to be characteristic of German history – in most cases the books focus on oppressive, aggressive trends which are said to have been abolished/overcome in the newly founded GDR⁵¹.

- **Judicial legacy of the past/the influence of Roman law:**

1. *General*: The judicial legacy of the ‘ancient past’ is dealt with very differently in the GDR books than in their Bavarian counterparts: first, the topic is far less prominent – it is only covered in two of the books (GDR1 and GDR4). Second, rather than portraying the influence of Roman law on modern judicial systems (across the Europe/the world) as positive, the GDR books interpret this influence/legacy as being very negative; a continuation of oppressive and exploitative practices⁵².
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: N/A

- **Ethnic legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: Like their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR books are not greatly concerned with the ethnic legacy of the ‘ancient past’.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: The GDR books focus very much – more so than in the Bavarian schoolbooks – on the

⁵⁰ "The first country to abolish the exploitation of human beings was the Soviet Union. History tells us about the changes which took place in the lives of the people and about the battles which were fought to bring them about. It shows us how human advancement was achieved. It shows us the causes of oppression, exploitation, and war. It teaches us how to topple an unjust order, how to banish war from the face of the earth, and how to make life better and more pleasant" (GDR1: 8-9).

⁵¹ "But even in those days, people still dreamed of a better future and fought courageously for a Socialist world like the one which has become a reality in our country" (GDR6a:5).

⁵² "Roman Law afforded special protection to the private property and interests of the exploiter class. This is why it is still employed by the exploiter class in many countries today" (GDR1:247-8).

emergence of the German ‘*Volk*’⁵³. Furthermore, the books also, to a lesser extent, mention the origins of other European peoples such as the Slavs. Unlike some of the Bavarian books, none of the GDR textbooks deal with the ethnic legacy of the past in relation to local groups.

- **States:**

1. *General*: Like the Bavarian schoolbooks, all of the GDR books deal with the origins of a number of different modern states.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: All of the GDR schoolbooks cover the emergence of the German state. Furthermore, the origins of other European countries are mentioned but generally the topic features far less prominently than German history⁵⁴.

- **Language and terminology:**

1. *General*: See Germany, below.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: Like the Bavarian schoolbooks most of the GDR books (bar GDR2 and GDR3) deal with the origins of the German language in general, as well as with the roots of certain terms⁵⁵.

- **Cities:**

1. *General*: See Germany, below.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: Similar to the early Bavarian textbooks most of the GDR books are concerned with the origins of German cities⁵⁶.

- **Conflicts**

1. *General*: See Germany, below.

⁵³ “Approximately two thousand years ago, this country was inhabited by the Germanic tribes. This is the name given to the ancestors of our people – the German people” (GDR2a: 18).

⁵⁴ “*The Kingdom of the West Franks was later called France, the Kingdom of the East Franks Germany*” (GDR1: 304).

⁵⁵ “*However, Notker Labeo's main contribution here was in defining the form of the German language, the language of the people*” (GDR6b: 88).

“*Our language contains many loan words which highlight the influence of Arabic*” (GDR6b: 105).

⁵⁶ “*Roman settlements such as these became the cities of Koblenz, Bonn, Speyer, Worms, Cologne, and Regensburg*” (GDR3b: 62)

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and local history)*: GDR4 and GDR5 stress the fact that certain ‘German’ conflicts (for example, between the Germans and the Slavs) started in ‘ancient history’. This is not covered by the Bavarian schoolbooks⁵⁷.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts in how they deal with the legacy of the ‘ancient past’. They focus on the influence of particular cultures/peoples/periods on the present. Furthermore, they draw similar conclusions with regard to the influence that the ‘ancient past’ has had on aspects of modern life:

- **Cultural legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: The cultural legacy of the ‘ancient past’ represents a major theme in both of the Saxon books. Like their Bavarian counterparts the Saxon textbooks place particular emphasis on Classical heritage.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: The books do not deal with the cultural legacy of the past and its impact on Germany in any detail. Like their Bavarian counterparts, both books are more concerned with the influence of the ‘ancient past’ on European cultural practices. It is worth noting that Classical and Arabic history (S2) are considered particularly important in this context⁵⁸.

- **Political legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: Like the GDR and the Bavarian textbooks, the Saxon books are concerned with the origins of different forms of socio-political organisation

⁵⁷ “You must pay special attention to the oppression of the Slavic peoples, because the German exploiter classes have repeatedly attempted to conquer territory in the East and South-East at the expense of these peoples – right up to the modern era!” (GDR4b: 63).

⁵⁸ “Many of the things which we now take for granted were adopted from Greco-Roman culture. The Romans led Europe in the fields of technology and economics, in the arts and sciences, and in many other areas” (S1a:137).

and political concepts. Democracy represents a prominent theme in the two books⁵⁹.

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: The above also applies to Europe and Germany.

- **Judicial legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: Both books deal with the origins of the concept of justice and stress the influence of Roman law on modern judicial systems⁶⁰.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: The above also applies to Europe and Germany.

- **Ethnic legacy of the past:**

1. *General*: The ethnic legacy of the past is more of an issue in S1 than in S2 but does not represent a major theme in either of the two books. However, unlike their Bavarian and GDR counterparts, the Saxon books are very much concerned with the origins and the history of the Jewish people.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: The Saxon books do not deal the ethnic legacy of the past and its impact on modern-day Germans in much detail. S2 does, however, explain the origins of the term '*deutsch*' (German). The two schoolbooks are not concerned with the roots of local ethnic groups. The ethnic legacy of the past represents a slightly more prominent theme in the context of European history – S1, for instance, discusses the emergence of various Slavic peoples in some detail⁶¹.

- **States:**

1. *General*: Like the other two sets of schoolbooks the Saxon books are, to a certain extent, concerned with the origins of modern states⁶².

⁵⁹ "We have inherited the foundations of our modern state from the Ancient World. We still speak about 'politics'; we live in a 'democracy'; and we condemn the regime of a 'dictator'" (S1a: 137).

⁶⁰ "Justinian had all the laws brought together in one comprehensive text, the *Codex Iustinianus* (Latin: the Book of Justinian). Even today it still serves as basis for Europe's statute books" (S2a: 173).

⁶¹ "Other Slavic tribes settled the areas east of the Oder River, in what is now Poland and Western Russia. These tribes were the ancestors of the Russians, Poles, and Czechs, as well as of several peoples in the Balkans" (S1b: 27).

⁶² "Beginning in 450 AD, they set out from their settlements in northern Germany and carried out raids on England, conquering large parts of the island. Their empires eventually gave birth to the modern English state" (S1b: 24).

2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: The two books very much focus on the emergence of the German state – much more so than on the early history of any other modern nation-state.

- **Language and terminology:**

1. *General*: Like the Bavarian books both of the Saxon schoolbooks deal with the linguistic legacy of the past – with the origins of certain languages and the roots of certain terms⁶³.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: Both Saxon books deal with the origins of the German language and of certain German words. They also explore the roots of some other European languages and, for example, some English terms.

- **Cities:**

1. *General*: The origins of cities represents a more prominent theme in S1 than in S2.
2. *Germany (compared to Europe and Saxony)*: S1 deals with the origins of German cities.

Summary/comparison

Whereas the FRG books focus very much on the legacy of individual cultures, peoples and/or periods, the GDR books are more interested in wider, universal historical processes. Furthermore, all three sets of schoolbooks draw similar continuities between the ‘ancient past’ and aspects of modern life. A closer examination of the results, however, shows that the FRG books differ quite considerably from their GDR counterparts:

1. All three sets of schoolbooks are very much concerned with the cultural legacy of the past. However, whereas the GDR books tend to concentrate on

⁶³ “*The Western Romans still spoke Latin. This eventually transformed into the modern Romance languages of French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish*” (S2a: 171).

technological developments and their impact on human societies and historical progress in general, the FRG books focus very much on the cultural roots of Europe and/or the Occident. Furthermore, unlike their East German counterparts, the Bavarian textbooks are greatly concerned with the religious legacy of the 'ancient past'.

2. All of the books deal with the origins of political concepts and/or realities. However, whereas the GDR books focus on the development of different forms of socio-political organisation and the roots of/development towards socialism, the FRG books are especially concerned with the roots of democracy.
3. The FRG books deal with the origins of the concept of justice and the impact of Roman law on modern – especially on the German – judicial system(s). Most of the GDR books ignore this aspect altogether.
4. The ethnic legacy of the past does not represent an important theme in any of the books. However, all three sets of schoolbooks touch upon the emergence of the German '*Volk*' – this is generally much more pronounced in the GDR than in the Bavarian books. Additionally, the early Bavarian books deal with the ethnic origins of modern Bavarians.
5. All the books deal with the emergence of modern nation-states. All of them focus on Germany.
6. All three sets of schoolbooks are concerned with the origins of modern languages (especially German) and the roots of certain terms.
7. All of the books deal with the emergence of cities – with the exception of the most recent Bavarian books, all of the textbooks focus on German cities.
8. The GDR books stress the origins of certain conflicts in German history; the FRG books largely ignore this topic.

Question II.2.3.

Do the schoolbooks provide any guidance, any particularly strong positive or negative examples? What messages and values are communicated in the books?

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks communicate certain messages and provide guidelines for students. The authors evaluate situations and developments; they present students with examples of positive and negative practices. This is especially pronounced in the earlier schoolbooks (B1 to B4). In the later textbooks the language is more neutral, examples of positive and negative practices are more subtle and students are often asked to think about and evaluate situations, actions and developments for themselves (this is especially true for B6 and B8).

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks resemble each other in terms of the messages they communicate. The following values, behaviours and practices are promoted in the books:

- **An appreciation for culture in the widest sense (including sciences):** A general appreciation for culture is promoted in all of the Bavarian textbooks. The different books do, however, focus on different issues: B1, B5 and B7, for instance, are particularly concerned with the Classical period. B4 stresses the fact that cultural developments/life-style are extremely positive as long as they do not lead to a decline in morals, virtues and decency. B7 and, to a lesser extent, B8 focus on the emergence of 'logic and reason'⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ "On the other hand, countless artefacts – including painted clay vases, beakers, and mixing bowls – have come into our possession, artefacts which, by virtue of their pleasing form and inexhaustible abundance of images – depicting daily life in Ancient Greece and scenes from the Ancient Greek sagas – are still capable of transporting connoisseurs of art into raptures of delight even today. [...] The pursuit of science also rose to extraordinary heights during the age of the great Pericles. [...] Along with the sculptors and architects, the Ancient Greek poets and thinkers would act as tutors to those taking up these vocations for centuries to come; and during the Periclean Age, Athens made an indelible contribution to the refinement of mankind by producing works of the utmost perfection. It was a high point of human culture unparalleled in history. Likewise, academic and scientific freedom is one of Ancient Greece's great legacies to mankind" (B3a: 59-60).

"The modern natural sciences began to develop from this manner of thought. Ancient Greek literature, art, and architecture now served as models for their modern counterparts. Entire epochs – the epochs of the Renaissance and of Humanism in the 15th and 16th centuries; the epochs of Classicism and the Classical Period in the 18th and 19th centuries – bear particularly eloquent witness to the continuing influence of Ancient Greek culture" (B6a: 76).

- **Rejection of war, violence, civil war and the exploitation/oppression of peoples/conquered peoples:** This represents a prominent theme in all of the Bavarian schoolbooks⁶⁵.
- **Promotion of a virtuous and moral way of life:** This is a very prominent theme in the early Bavarian books and declines in importance from B6 onwards. The core virtues promoted in the schoolbooks include: hard-work, modesty, decency, loyalty, honesty, caring for the community and respect. At the same time the books reject: wastefulness, greed and violence. There are slight variations in how exactly the textbooks present these issues, how they promote these values⁶⁶.
- **Promotion of Christianity/Christian religion, values and way of life:** With the exception of B7, all of the Bavarian schoolbooks promote the Christian faith and religion (in many cases this is linked to the promotion of morals and a virtuous life-style, see above) – the theme is particularly prominent in B3 and B4. The way Christianity is promoted varies slightly between the books: for example, in B1 Christianity is often compared to other, ‘darker’ religions. In B5 and B8 the Christian religion (along with other ‘peaceful religions’) is portrayed in positive but not uncritical terms⁶⁷.

⁶⁵"We have restricted mention of military conflict to those situations where it was absolutely necessary for the understanding of historical developments. [...] In contrast to this, we have given an even more prominent place to mankind's endeavours in the service of culture. It would not have been sufficient merely to attempt to dampen enthusiasm for war and warmongering and to tone-down its disastrous consequences. It seemed necessary to us to go a step further and try to win over the hearts and minds of young people for genuine, elevated, humane cultural values" (B1: V/VI).

⁶⁶"The better and more serious of the Greeks were Stoics, whose main teaching was that the only form of goodness lies in virtue, and that this alone can guarantee true bliss and teach us how to bear all of life's burdens" (B1: 76).

Most of the Bavarian schoolbooks stress that a moral and virtuous life-style strengthened the Roman state, made possible the Roman Empire – for instance: "*The foundations for the virtues upon which the state would later be built were laid at an early stage: a strong sense of duty and love of one's fatherland; respect for one's elders and for the law*" (B5a: 103).

Similarly, the decline of Roman virtuousness is often portrayed as cause for the collapse of the Roman Empire: "*The fall of the Roman Empire [...] immorality, extravagance, and all kinds of vice gained the upper hand in Rome*" (B4a: 97).

⁶⁷"The Gospel he delivered to mankind was the Good News about God's merciful, fatherly love. [...] A new standard for true greatness had now been won, something the world had previously measured in terms of outward appearance and superficial gloss. The Coming of Christ therefore marks a decisive turning point in the history of mankind. The patriotism of the Romans was fuelled by memories of the heroes from their glorious past; well-known for his appreciation of art, the Ancient Greek received his education from the masterpieces of the Periclean Age. But the moral rebirth of the world, the new spirit which infused the centuries now marked by the Christian calendar, the elevation and purity of Christian

- **Promotion of a ‘free’ and equal society and political participation for everyone:** With the possible exception of B2, this message is communicated, to varying degrees, in all of the schoolbooks. Promotion of a ‘free’ and equal society goes hand in hand with stressing the importance of ‘justice’ and equality in front of the law (values which are especially prominent in B3, B4, B5 and B6)⁶⁸.
- **Rejection of social inequality:** With the exception of B1, social inequality – very large gaps between the rich and the poor, those with rights and those without rights – is more of concern in the later Bavarian textbooks (B5, B6, B8 and especially B7). Interestingly, slavery is not one of the main issues raised by the schoolbooks (with the exception of B6 and B8 which very clearly condemn it)⁶⁹.
- **Promotion of the fair treatment of women:** This is not a major theme in any of the books but does appear in B3, B5 and B7.
- **Promotion of tolerance and cultural exchange:** This is a more prominent theme in the later Bavarian schoolbooks (particularly in B6 and B8) than in earlier editions.
- **Consideration of the environment:** Environmental issues are only raised in B7 – the book is very positive about technological progress but stresses the fact that the environment should be considered.

virtue, the upstanding resoluteness of the Christian character, the heroism of the martyrs – all these things are merely an echo of the one great word cried out by God when He walked among us: ‘Follow me!’ is a new life and a new life order based on the wondrous factor Salvation, as embodied by Christ” (B3a: 114).

⁶⁸ *“Under Diocletian, the Roman Empire turned into a repressive state in which the individual’s personal freedom and right to self-determination were restricted. Can you think of any countries where this is the case today?” (B6a: 132).*

“Decide for yourself what would hold the greatest appeal for you: the freedom to participate in the running of a liberal state, or life under the principate political regime?” (B7: 43).

⁶⁹ *“Why is slavery still inhuman, even if the slaves are treated well?” (B6a: 97).*

“The vast majority of the Egyptian population worked as peasant farmers. [...] One or two sacks of grain were just about sufficient to feed a farmer and his family. [...] The farmers and their families were completely at the mercy of the royal officials, against whose arbitrary rule they had no protection. [...] Assess this distribution of wealth and power. Do you think it is fair or unfair?” (B8a: 59).

Finally, it is important to note that the most recent schoolbooks convey messages and values with less force and determination than the earlier editions – schoolbooks seem to slowly move away from presenting students with ‘black and white’ messages. Instead, they attempt to make pupils think for themselves – a value very much cherished in modern (West) German society.

GDR

Much like their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR books communicate certain messages and values and provide guidelines for students (mainly by outlining examples of positive and negative practices and behaviours). The way in which, and, the force with which these are conveyed, varies slightly between the books – for example, the language used in GDR6 is more neutral than in GDR4 and some early editions.

To summarise, the following messages and values are communicated in the GDR schoolbooks:

- **Rejection of exploitation and oppression:** All of the books strongly condemn exploitation and oppression and promote solidarity with those fighting against it. This theme is much more prominent in the GDR than in the Bavarian schoolbooks. However, it is important to note that exploitation and oppression are considered phenomena characteristic of a natural phase in human history; a necessary stage human society has to pass through and overcome before a truly fair and equal society can emerge⁷⁰.
- **Rejection of ‘imperialist’ wars:** All of the GDR books strongly reject ‘imperialist’ and conquest-driven wars. Two main issues are particularly

⁷⁰ “As neither slaves, peasants, nor artisans were prepared to work for the priest caste and the patricians of their own free will, the ruling class established special institutions for the oppression of the working people” (GDR4a: 44).

“‘Inhuman’ is the best word to describe the cruel oppression which forced them to work against their wills and live in poverty while their exploiters lived in comfort” (GDR4a: 53).

noticeable: first, similar to the Bavarian books such wars are portrayed as unjust. In many cases the books stress the crimes committed against the invaded peoples/countries and their misery. Second, unlike their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR schoolbooks tend to portray wars as class-issues – i.e. they argue that a small minority of people profit from wars, whereas the majority of the soldiers either gain nothing and/or suffers/loses something as a result of war⁷¹. At the same time, defensive wars and wars of liberation (people fighting for their homes and freedom) are portrayed as necessary, positive and justified. This is not a very prominent theme in the Bavarian books⁷².

- **A positive view of class-struggle:** All of the schoolbooks (but especially GDR4 and GDR6) promote a positive view of class-struggle as one of the main factors initiating historical progress. Solidarity with those who are fighting against oppression is prominent theme in all of the textbooks⁷³.
- **Unity in the struggle against the oppressors:** All of the GDR books stress the importance of fighting united against a common oppressor or enemy⁷⁴.
- **States are instruments of oppression:** All of the GDR books portray states as instruments of power and oppression (this is an especially prominent theme in GDR1, GDR4 and GDR5). This is discussed further in section II.2.5.

⁷¹“The caliphs, along with the ruling class, called their wars of conquest a ‘holy war’. The Arab warriors believed that by forcing the peoples of other countries (‘infidels’) to submit to the rule of the caliphs, they were performing good works in Allah’s name. They were attracted by the rich spoils to be had. The wars of conquest led to the amassing of an enormous amount of wealth in the hands of a small group of aristocrats. Economic, political, and military power grew and grew, while the majority of the Arab population gradually became dissatisfied due to the ceaseless wars” (GDR4b: 80).

⁷²“Give reasons why the victorious struggle of the Germanic tribes against the Romans was a just war!” (GDR4b: 22). And: “When do we speak of ‘wars of conquest’? In order to answer this question, you must write a summary of the Romans’ military goals and evaluate them! [...] Why were these wars unjust wars? Give reasons!” (GDR5b: 17).

⁷³“Why should the slaves’ courageous struggle be an inspiration to us?” (GDR3b: 74-75).

“Prove that the struggles described in the adjacent examples were class struggles – fought by the oppressed against their oppressors – which oiled the wheels of progress!” (GDR5b: 91).

⁷⁴“Arminius took a bundle of thin wooden sticks and told one of the Chatti to break the sticks. The man was unable to do so. Hermann then told one of the Cheruskans to try. He was also unable to break the bundle of sticks. Arminius then took the bundle, pulled out one stick after another, and broke them one by one without any effort. He then said: ‘Learn from this lesson: like a single stick, a tribe is weak; but if the tribes join together, they will be strong and invincible. We Germanic tribes belong together; we have a common enemy; if we stick together, we will drive the Romans out of our territory. They were only able to bring us under their yoke because we were not united” (GDR2a: 62).

- **Rejection of religion:** Unlike in the Bavarian books, religion is portrayed as an instrument of power and oppression in all of the GDR textbooks (with the possible exception of GDR2). The schoolbooks argue that religion is employed by those in power to maintain the status quo and keep-up prevalent power-structures; that religion hinders historical progress. Furthermore, all of the GDR textbooks (especially GDR5 and GDR6) are very positive about the emergence of 'logic' and 'reason', about people's attempts to move away from religious world views and explanations⁷⁵.
- **Rejection of social (and political) inequality:** All of the GDR books (especially GDR1 to GDR3) reject social inequality and animate students to sympathise with those who are fighting against it (see class-struggle). Unlike their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR textbooks focus very much on slavery (but less so in GDR2 and GDR6). However, it is important to note that despite this strong rejection of social and political inequality, it is considered to be an important stage in history, a necessary phase which makes possible and initiates historical progress⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ "In its capacity as a feudal landowner, the Church employed various special methods which were designed to drive the free peasantry into dependency on it: clerics promised the peasants a better life after death; they duped the ignorant peasants with Holy Relics (supposedly the remains of Saints, or their possessions) which were supposed to work miracles; they threatened the free peasants with the torments which they could expect to suffer after their deaths. The purpose of all this was to coerce the peasants into handing over their land to the Church" (GDR5b: 49).

⁷⁶ "Large masses of slaves worked on the huge estates. The slaves were treated with great cruelty. They were branded like cattle and were led to their workplaces in shackles if they refused to work. They were often flogged. Their owners were also allowed to kill them if they wished to do so" (GDR1: 221).

"The priest-prince decreed that the strongest prisoners – especially those who had put up the most resistance in battle – should have their eyes put out. Deprived of their eyesight, they could still work for him in the temple workshops, without posing a threat to his rule. This would serve as an example to all his oppressed subjects, who would then see what lay in store for them if they rebelled against him. Warriors and guards set about carrying out this dreadful order. Most of the men, women, and children remained – like cattle – in the possession of the temple workshops" (GDR5a: 53).

"But not everyone living in Athens was allowed to take part in the people's assembly. This right was reserved for those with citizen status. Slaves, freed slaves, the children of freed slaves, and those who had moved to Athens from other areas were not counted as citizens. Women were also excluded from the people's assembly. This meant that only a tiny section of the population had the right to participate in the decision-making process. What do you think about this? What do you know about participation in the decision-making process in our republic?" (GDR3a: 84).

"As well as magnificent buildings such as this and the palaces of the wealthy slave traders, there were also huge slum areas in Rome where the poor lived. They resided in meagre shacks or multi-storey tenement buildings and were forced to pay high rents for cramped, stuffy rooms. Sometimes the badly-built multi-storey buildings collapsed, burying the occupants in the rubble" (GDR4a: 113).

- **A positive view of historical progress:** All of the GDR books focus very much on historical progress. Much in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history, socio-economic, political and technological progress is portrayed as inherently positive and necessary – despite the fact that in many cases progress is only possible because of/initiated by great suffering and sacrifices⁷⁷.
- **A positive attitude towards hard-work:** Especially GDR1, GDR4 and GDR6 promote a positive attitude towards physical labour and hard-work.
- **Appreciation of cultural achievements in the widest sense (including arts, architecture, science, technology etc):** Like their Bavarian counterparts, the GDR books promote an appreciation of culture. However, cultural achievements are seen as expressions of historical progress in the Marxist-Leninist sense. This explains why they tend to be portrayed in a somewhat ambiguous light: on the one hand, things were made, developed and invented which were/are not only aesthetically pleasing but also improved human life and pushed forward historical developments. On the other hand, cultural progress was only possible because of the oppression and exploitation of large sectors of society – a necessary, yet unfortunate, precondition for historical development⁷⁸.

Post-Unification Saxony

⁷⁷ "If we compare the Ancient Oriental class society with prehistoric society, we can see that it represents historical progress, despite being based on the exploitation of the working classes. The Ancient Oriental class society was a necessary stage in the development of human society" (GDR4a: 68).

⁷⁸ "Numerous buildings and works of art, as well as inventions and working methods, testify to the advanced level of civilization achieved by the Ancient Oriental culture. They are permanent memorials to human labour and human inventiveness. In the course of history, a whole range of inventions and working methods were adopted by other peoples. The great achievements of the Ancient Orient were the result of the toil and sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of farmers, craftsmen, traders, and slaves. All these inventions and artistic achievements were possible because: a.) combined with a surplus in production, there were enough people to carry out this work, b.) it was now possible to feed these people, c.) kings and priests were able to force large numbers of people to work together" (GDR5a: 68).

"The labour of the slaves gave the citizens the leisure time and the means to achieve unique accomplishments in art" (GDR6a: 75).

"Archaeologists have discovered large and elaborate constructions in many parts of the Ancient Orient. These constructions number among the most significant cultural achievements known to man. They are impressive evidence of the advances made by the class society in the Ancient Orient" (GDR6a: 68).

Generally, the language used in the Saxon textbooks is fairly neutral. Although the books convey certain messages and values, these are not communicated in a very forceful or explicit manner (this is especially true for S1).

The following themes/issues are promoted in the two books:

- **Rejection of social and political inequality:** Like their Bavarian counterparts, both books reject social and political inequality – S1 more so than S2. Slavery is more of an issue in the Saxon books than in the Bavarian textbooks but less so than in the GDR schoolbooks⁷⁹.
- **Promotion of law, order and justice:** Much like their Bavarian counterparts, both Saxon books promote ‘law and order’ and justice (also see social and political inequality)⁸⁰.
- **Rejection of war and violence:** Very similar to the schoolbooks discussed so far, the Saxon textbooks condemn war and violence against other countries, conquered peoples and/or certain sectors of the population. Both books (but especially S2) promote peace. S2 also focuses very much on the devastating effects of civil war⁸¹.

⁷⁹ "Rome now became the exploiter of the downtrodden masses. Everything was focussed on bringing more and more wealth, more and more prosperity, more and more luxury into the capital. While palaces and splendid villas were being built for the rich, the majority of the population were crammed together in densely built-up areas of the city in which tenement buildings were up to four storeys high. The tension between rich and poor grew constantly" (S1a: 123).

⁸⁰ "Written laws provided security for the king's subjects:

- Unlawful acts were punishable by law.
- A sentence could only be passed if the defendant had been proven guilty.
- Sentences could only be passed by the king or by judges appointed by him.
- The king and his judges were also obliged to obey the law.
- The laws were known to everyone" (S2a: 55).

⁸¹ "List Appian's most important statements. Which modern examples of civil wars can you think of? What is your opinion of the statement: 'Civil wars are the worst of all wars?'" (S2a: 140).

"Rome waged many wars and experienced many civil wars. Can you think of any modern day countries in which similar conditions exist? How do you think we can bring about world peace?" (S2a: 176).

- **Promotion of fair and equal treatment of women:** This is not a major theme in either books but represents a more prominent topic than in the other books discussed so far⁸².
- **Promotion of a positive view of cultural achievements:** Much like the Bavarian schoolbooks, both of the Saxon books promote a positive view of culture (including technology, sciences, the arts, architecture, etc.). S1 concentrates very much on the Classical period, whereas S2 is less focused on a particular period⁸³.
- **Promotion of tolerance and cultural/religious exchange:** Both books, like their contemporary Bavarian counterparts, promote tolerance and cultural/religious exchange – this is a more prominent theme in S2 than in S1 (especially in relation to the Arabs)⁸⁴. The Saxon books are less positive about religion than the early Bavarian schoolbooks and more closely resemble the later Bavarian editions. At the same time, they are far less critical of religion than their GDR predecessors. Religion is viewed in a critical (both positive and negative) manner: the Saxon schoolbooks promote an open, non-fanatical, tolerant approach to religion.
- **Promotion of critical thought:** Both books promote and encourage critical thinking.

Summary/comparison

⁸² “Women were not involved in politics. ‘A woman’s place is at the loom and not taking part in a debate,’ is how one Greek poet summed up the situation. [...] Even today, some people still hold similar views to that of the Greek poet. What kind of things do these people say? What do you think about women’s involvement in politics?” (S1a: 98).

⁸³ “Here the Egyptians constructed great pyramids, enormous temple complexes, and elaborately decorated mausoleums cut into the cliff faces. These have been objects of admiration for more than 2,500 years. How were they able to create such beautiful and wondrous things?” (S2a: 56).

In summary, all of the textbooks communicate certain messages and convey certain values. These are very much linked to issues of identity as well as to the prevalent political ideology/context: the Bavarian books promote an identity based on Christian and democratic values (i.e. those of the social market economy in the FRG). They strongly reject war and intolerance, a lesson learned from the recent world wars. Furthermore, culture is presented as an important value – possibly because knowledge of, and, appreciation for cultural achievements is considered a basis of the students' general education/knowledge and/or because it is seen as the antithesis to war and violence. The GDR books, on the other hand, clearly communicate socialist values and role-models and as such legitimise the existence of and the GDR and the fight for socialism. The Saxon textbooks closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts. Finally, it is interesting to note that both the latest Bavarian and Saxon schoolbooks focus very much on critical thought.

Question II.2.4.

How do the textbooks deal with and evaluate 'groups', 'group-affiliations', identities, forms of socio-political organisation and nations – generally and in relation to German history in particular?

General observations

Bavaria

1. Political education:

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks introduce students to different forms of socio-political organisation; to different types of political administration, states and styles of leadership. As such, the history schoolbooks contribute to the students' political education – they raise questions (mostly implicitly) such as: How did 'we' get to where 'we' are? How did people in the past organise and administer their lives and their societies? How do other/past forms of political organisation compare to present circumstances?

2. The concept of 'Völker' (peoples) as the basis for historical narratives:

The concept of different 'Völker' is very pronounced in the Bavarian schoolbooks (especially in B1 to B6). They are presented as historical actors, as more or less homogenous groups which share certain characteristics, skills, motivations and agendas (see group-affiliations below). The textbooks very much focus on and are structured around the history and fate of these 'Völker'⁸⁵. Furthermore, depending on their contribution to world history and/or their impact on the present, some 'Völker' are deemed more significant than others (this is particularly pronounced in B3)⁸⁶. Significance is not necessarily dependent on great inventions or new discoveries, some 'Völker' are simply considered important because they passed on certain practices, traditions and/or skills (see B3 and B5)⁸⁷. Additionally, history is often divided into separate periods or eras on the basis of these different 'Völker' (especially in B3)⁸⁸.

Most of the books make references to 'Golden Ages' and speak of 'Völker' as 'appearing in' or 'disappearing from' history. This reveals the underlying assumptions of the books: they presume that each 'Volk' has its time and place in history; once its time is up and it has fulfilled its purpose, the 'Volk' becomes insignificant and the focus shifts to a new, more relevant, and significant 'Volk' (culture or civilisation)⁸⁹. This notion is particularly pronounced in B1, B2 and – to a lesser extent – in B5 which use the metaphor of

⁸⁵ "...the Cimbri and the Teutons [...] everything about them was new and awe-inspiring: their ruthlessness in battle, their huge stature, their blond hair and blue eyes. Accompanied by their wives and children, they trekked across Europe with all their earthly possessions packed onto wagons and carts – an endless army, courageous and hungry for battle" (B1: 113).

⁸⁶ „Alongside the enormous empires of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Meder, and the Persians, two other smaller peoples played a major part in the history of the Ancient World, a part which – despite their being independent for only a short period of time – was of enormous significance in the development of mankind: these were the Phoenicians and the Hebrews" (B 3a: 30).

„List the most important Germanic tribes!“ (B6a: 139).

⁸⁷ “The Phoenicians' greatest achievement was the passing on of Near Eastern culture to the Greeks” (B3a: 31).

⁸⁸ “They were called the Dorians. Their arrival marked the end of Greek Antiquity” (B3a: 36).

“The Minoan-Mycenean Age is not a part of Greek history, although it did take place in what would later become Greece” (B3a: 37).

⁸⁹ “The Hittite empire. When the Indo Europeans migrated to Asia Minor, the Hittites stepped into the spotlight of history” (B5a: 32).

young/powerful/fresh/healthy ‘*Völker*’ which replace old/sick/stale/worn-out peoples and cultures. It is interesting to note that such a view of history portrays the Germanic tribes in a rather positive light – the Roman civilisation had become sick and stale, it was time for the fresh and powerful Germanic people to take over and for a new era to begin⁹⁰.

It is important to note that the books do not suggest that everything ‘old’ gets forgotten and replaced. On the contrary, all of the Bavarian schoolbooks stress the fact that different peoples learn from and influence each other. In some instances this exchange is portrayed as something very positive (for example, B8), in others as damaging, problematic and/or ambiguous (for instance, B3 and B4)⁹¹. Whatever the case, according to the schoolbooks, it is individual ‘*Völker*’ who pass on heritage and allow certain traditions, skills and practices to survive through time. Heritage is not, however, portrayed as something static – traditions, skills and practices are modified and/or improved as they get handed over from one ‘*Volk*’ to another, get incorporated into new contexts and merge with existing practices. In other words, cultural exchange and contact between different ‘*Völker*’, the mixing and merging of peoples and cultures, leads to the creation of new traditions and practices consisting of existing heritage, the historical context and the conditions and needs of the time; some things are forgotten, some are remembered and yet others are changed in order to meet new demands⁹².

Finally it is important to note that, bar the very early editions (B1 and B2), all of the Bavarian books are, to a greater or lesser extent, concerned with so-called ‘*Völkerfamilien*’ or ‘*Völkerschaften*’ (‘families of peoples’) – the Indo-

⁹⁰ “The victory of Christianity and the downfall of Rome – brought about by the energetic youth of the Germanic tribes – marked the dawning of a new age. The Ancient World was finished” (B1: 167).

⁹¹ “There were fruitful peaceful contacts between Muslims and Christians – most notably in Spain and Sicily” (B5b: 23).

“And so Hellenic culture arrived in Rome. However, it not only brought progress, but quickly destroyed the simplicity of the old Roman customs” (B4a: 75).

“Away from the great centres of culture, the way of life of the Germanic tribes was able to develop undisturbed” (B3a: 125).

⁹² “However, some of today’s Western peoples came into being as a result of intermarriage between Romans and members of the Germanic tribes” (B3b: 9).

“However the Goths and the Lombards intermarried with the Roman population of Spain and Italy and added a strong Germanic component to the genetic makeup of the new peoples” (B3b: 11).

Europeans are a commonly used example. The books (especially B3 to B6) focus on a number of topics in relation to ‘*Völkerfamilien*’: the factors that bind them together (usually a common language, origin, culture and/or race - only B3), why they eventually drift apart and how their break-up leads to the emergence of new ‘*Völker*’. Additionally, B3 stresses the fact that not all of the individual peoples within these ‘*Völkerfamilien*’ are equally important – some are considered to be more significant than others⁹³.

3. Group affiliations:

Although the Bavarian schoolbooks vary slightly in terms of how exactly they deal with group-affiliations (the amount of detail as well as the number of examples used), they all convey a similar message. To summarise:

- **Religion:** Religion is portrayed as something which brings people(s) together; it is said to foster group-affiliations, common identities and homogeneity. Furthermore, according to the schoolbooks shared religious beliefs often represent the basis of more formal ties – for example, it is seen as the precondition for the foundation of the Frank Empire and the Arabic states. The books do, however, stress the fact that this does not necessarily have to be the case (as illustrated by Jewish and Greek history). Nonetheless, the textbooks argue that it is harder for people to develop a feeling of belonging when they do not share the

⁹³"Towards the end of the Neolithic period, clusters of peoples of similar or shared race, speaking languages which were related to each other, began to appear. The name given to such groups is 'community of nations'. In North Africa, the Berber, Nubian, Somali, and Egyptian peoples comprised the Hamitic community of nations. The only Hamitic people to develop a thriving, significant culture were the Egyptians. In the Near East, the Semitic community of nations appeared, its most important members being the Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hebrews. The third large community of nations were the Indo-Europeans. Their most important peoples were the Indians, the Meder, the Persians, the Greeks, the Latins, the Celts, the Germanic tribes, the Romanen, and the Slavs. The linguistic affinity between the members of this community of nations is remarkable. [...] For three millennia, this community of nations above all others has exerted an ever-increasing influence on the world" (B3a: 10).

"As early as the beginning of the Bronze Age, the Indo-Europeans split up into individual peoples. [...] These later merged with each other, eventually giving rise to new Indo-European peoples: the Germanic tribes and Illyrians, and later the Celts, the Italic peoples, the Balts, and the Slavs" (B2b: 12)

same religious beliefs; group-affiliations are said to be weaker under these circumstances⁹⁴.

- **Language:** All of the books argue that language brings people together; that it strengthens group-affiliations and generates a feeling of belonging – the Greeks and the Germans are frequently used examples. By extension, the textbooks stress the fact that group identities are less likely to develop where people speak different languages⁹⁵.
- **Enemies/the Other:** All of the Bavarian schoolbooks point out that a common enemy (or, less dramatically, a common ‘Other’) fosters group-affiliations and identities⁹⁶. The most frequently used example is that of the Greeks versus the barbarians.
- **Culture:** The books stress the fact shared cultural practices bring people(s) together and strengthen the bonds between them. Almost all of the books use the Greeks and, to a lesser extent, Roman Italy as examples (the latter is especially prominent in the last four books, B4 to B8). By extension, cultural heterogeneity is seen as a factor which weakens group-affiliations⁹⁷.
- **Citizenship and political ties:** Some of the early Bavarian textbooks point out that formal group-membership can bring people(s) closer together – in those books in which citizenship is mentioned, it is always discussed in relation to the Roman Empire (see B1, B2, B3 and B5). Citizenship does not feature in the later Bavarian books. However, B8 stresses the importance of political ties and common leadership for the development of group identities/affiliations.
- **Shared experiences:** Most of the Bavarian books (bar B1 – possibly because the second volume was not available, B2 and B7) suggest that

⁹⁴ “The birth of the Italian people. The conversion of the Lombards to the Catholic faith removed the most serious obstacle to intermarriage with the indigenous population. In the course of time, intermarriage between the two groups led to the birth of the Italian people” (B2a: 163).

⁹⁵ “The process of unification was also aided by the Latin tongue, which pushed the other Italian vernaculars into obscurity at an ever increasing pace. Gradually, the various different tribes merged together, becoming one people united by a common culture” (B5a: 109).

⁹⁶ “In order to defend themselves against their numerous enemies, the Twelve Tribes joined together and declared Saul their king” (B4a: 25).

⁹⁷ “But the Romans did not merely remain conquerors: they also succeeded in Romanising the provinces, thereby creating a centralized Roman culture which became a solid bulwark of the huge empire” (B7: 74).

shared experiences, a shared life can contribute to the development of group-affiliations and can strengthen ties between people(s).

- **Blood and ethnic ties:** This is not an important theme in any of the Bavarian books, it is only mentioned in B2 (in relation to the Bavarians), B3 (in relation to the Germanic tribes) and in B8 (in relation to the Celts). Race is not a prominent topic either; it is only briefly mentioned in B3, B5 and B6.

Additionally, it is interesting to note that all of the Bavarian books discuss Greek identity in detail. They all stress the fact that the Greeks developed a strong feeling of group-identity long before the foundation of a central Greek state. Greek identity is said to have been based on a shared language (all of the books), a common religion (all of the books bar B2), a common enemy and/or colonialism – the Other (all of the books bar B8), a shared culture (all of the books) as well as on common ancestry (only B1 and B4)⁹⁸.

4. References to nations/national identity and/or 'supra-national' identities:

The Bavarian textbooks do not tend to deal directly with national identities; they do not explain when and how national identities first emerged, how they are/were formed and what they are based on. However, most of the books contain either superficial and/or subtle/implicit references to nations or national affiliations. For example, B3 to B6 directly refer to the phenomenon in various sections. Furthermore, most of the books (B3, B5, B6 and B8) make several references to the 'fatherland' – implying that people in the past were tied to their 'countries'/homelands in a similar way as modern people are connected to their nation-states. Most of the Bavarian textbooks, therefore, adopt a primordialist approach to nationalism: they take the concept for granted, project it back into

⁹⁸"However, internal conflict within their own country also prevented the Ancient Greeks from joining together to form a large, unified state, encouraging instead the formation of numerous mini-states. Only their common heritage and culture – the fact that they spoke the same language, shared the same national shrines (such as the one at Delphi) took part in the national theatre festival – bound them together as a people: the Hellenes. They labelled all those not speaking Greek as 'barbarians' ('stammerers')" (B4a: 32).

the past and do not feel the need to question whether it actually existed in the ‘ancient past’⁹⁹.

‘Supra-national’ identities are a reasonably common theme in most of the Bavarian books – the subject is discussed in two main contexts: first, all of the early books (B1 to B6) focus on the emergence of the Occident (in contrast to the Orient). They (especially B2, B3 and B4) explain that Occidental culture is based on Classical and Germanic heritage as well as on the Christian religion. Interestingly, the later Bavarian books focus more on European than Occidental identities. Second, ‘supra-national’ identities are discussed in some detail in relation to Hellenism. B2, B3, B5 and B6 describe Hellenism as a ‘world culture’ which was based on a common language and common cultural practices. According to the books, group-attachments were dissolved during this period and differences between peoples and nations became blurred; the concept of the ‘fatherland’ lost its significance¹⁰⁰. It is interesting to note that the two most recent editions (B7 and B8) differ from earlier books. They focus on the limitations/boundaries of Hellenism – it is not so much portrayed as a ‘world culture’ but as a phenomenon limited to big cities (B7) or elite circles (B8).

GDR

1. Political and sociological education:

The GDR books, like their Bavarian counterparts, introduce students to different forms of socio-political organisation and political administration. However, whereas the Bavarian books focus largely on different types of states, the GDR textbooks deal with a wider range of ‘groups’. Additionally, the GDR books adopt a more systematic approach to the subject, they tend to categorise and

⁹⁹ “There was increasing apathy towards the state; national differences became less and less noticeable; qualities such as a sense of civic duty, a sense of freedom, and patriotism died out” (B1: 70).

¹⁰⁰ “As Ancient Greek culture intermingled with the indigenous cultures of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, the first world culture of Antiquity came into being: Hellenism. [...] The more the Greek language spread, the more the dividing lines between Greeks and Barbarians began to disappear. People now regarded themselves as citizens of the Hellenic world. Cosmopolitanism – ‘world citizenship’ – was born” (B3a: 70).

characterise different forms of socio-political organisation and explain the differences between them as well as the reasons for their existence. Much in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history this classification is based on the economic context, the level of technological development, the distribution of wealth, power and means of production, as well as on the degree of social and political equality and participation. On the most basic level, four main types of socio-political organisation are identified: primordial-, class-, slave-holding- and feudal societies¹⁰¹.

2. Groups are not homogenous and harmonic entities, they are subject to class-struggle:

In the GDR books the history of different 'peoples', their fate and actions, represents more of a side-issue in the historical narrative (GDR1, GDR5 and GDR6 are slightly more concerned with the history of different 'Völker' than GDR3 and GDR4). Instead concern is with frictions, divisions, conflict and class-struggle within groups. In other words, groups/'Völker' do not tend to be portrayed as homogenous entities¹⁰².

3. Group-affiliations:

Group-affiliations are not discussed in much detail in any of the GDR books (note: in GDR3 the subject is hardly mentioned at all). Generally, all of the GDR

¹⁰¹ "Communal life in the Ancient Orient had changed. In the days of the hunters and gatherers, and even among the tribes engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, all property belonged to the group, was communally owned. [...] In Sumer, communal life was different. In Sumer about 6,000 years ago, the first slave-owning society began to appear. [...] Prehistoric society dissolved into a society divided into rich and poor, slave-owners and slaves" (GDR3a: 49-50).

"The decisive new feature which set the slave-owning society apart from primeval society was its increased output" (GDR3b: 75).

¹⁰² "The individual Germanic tribes could not prevent this Roman success, even though the Romans were not able to permanently occupy the whole of Germania with troops. The reason for this was the lack of an alliance between these tribes, a fact which can be mainly attributed to the attitude of a section of the up-and-coming tribal nobility. Their main concern was securing power within their respective tribes, to which end they wanted to use the support of Rome. And in order to win Rome's support, they had to agree to help the Romans suppress other tribes – their own countrymen, in other words. The victims of their scheming were often other nobles from the same tribe, or even members of their own families who were hostile to the Romans" (GDR6b: 15-16).

"The Frankish ruling and oppressed classes" (GDR5b: 42).

books – like their Bavarian counterparts – imply that group-identities are or can be based on a series of different factors:

- **Economic interests:** All of the books (bar GDR3) stress that shared economic interests/necessities bring people(s) closer together and support the creation of bonds between people¹⁰³.
- **Citizenship:** This is not an important issue; it is only mentioned in the first two editions (GDR1 and GDR2) in the context of the Roman Empire.
- **Religion:** Unlike the Bavarian books, the GDR textbooks do not place much emphasis on the role of religion in the formation of group-affiliations. It is, however, fleetingly mentioned in most of the books in relation to the Greeks and the Arabs¹⁰⁴.
- **Political ties/living in the same country:** Most of the GDR books (bar GDR1 and GDR3) stress the importance of shared political experiences in the creation of group-identities. Early medieval Germany is the most frequently used example¹⁰⁵.
- **Language:** In most of the GDR books (bar GDR3) language is portrayed as an important factor in fostering group-affiliations. By extension, some of the books point out that it is difficult to maintain/administer a state in which the population does not speak the same language¹⁰⁶.
- **Culture:** All of the books (again with the exception of GDR3) are, to a certain extent, concerned with the impact of culture on group-identities – they all deal with the importance of shared cultural practices in the context of Greek identity (GDR2 is an exception – it focuses instead on Germanic identity)¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³ “To catch a mammoth, the hunters dug a pitfall. This was an arduous task which no single individual could have completed alone” (GDR2a: 6).

¹⁰⁴ “The spread of Islam led to an increasing sense of unity among the Arabs” (GDR4b: 79).

¹⁰⁵ “Because the inhabitants of the five duchies lived together in a common empire, they eventually merged and become one people. This is how our German people came into being” (GDR2b: 7).

¹⁰⁶ “In East Francia, the first signs of the development of a common identity among the different Germanic tribes which lived within its borders began to appear. An important foundation of this development was their shared language” (GDR6b: 97).

¹⁰⁷ “Greece did not exist as a single, unified entity: instead, there were hundreds of independent Greek city-states, bound together by the Greek language, their belief in the same gods, and the Olympic Games” (GDR6a: 79).

- **Blood and ethnic ties:** This is not a prominent theme in any of the books. It is, however, implicit in some of the textbooks. For example, GDR2 points out that the Germanic tribes are ethnically different from the Slavs. As in the Bavarian books, the concept of race hardly features in the East German schoolbooks – it is only mentioned in GDR6.
- **Other:** Other factors fostering group-affiliations include common enemies as well as shared interests, experiences and values.

4. No references to nations/national identity and/or ‘supra-national’ identities:

Unlike in the Bavarian books, national and ‘supra-national’ identities are not dealt with in any detail in the GDR books (only GDR1 refers to the ‘fatherland’).

Post-Unification Saxony

The Saxon schoolbooks resemble their Bavarian counterparts:

1. Political education:

Both of the books provide the students with an overview over different forms of socio-political organisation and thus contribute to the political education of the students.

2. The concept of ‘*Völker*’ (peoples) as the basis for historical narratives:

The Saxon textbooks are concerned with the history of different ‘*Völker*’; they concentrate on their fate, actions and characteristics (see section on Bavarian books). It is, however, important to note that this is less pronounced and explicit than in some of the early Bavarian editions.

3. Group-affiliations:

In terms of group-affiliations, the Saxon books focus on following factors:

- **Culture:** Both books stress the fact that a common culture can foster and/or strengthen group-affiliations and feelings of belonging. Greek, Roman and Celtic (S2) identity are the main examples used¹⁰⁸.
- **Religion:** Like in the Bavarian schoolbooks – although possibly not to the same extent – religion is portrayed as an important factor in fostering group-identities. The Frank Empire and the Arabic tribes are the most commonly used examples¹⁰⁹.
- **Language:** As their GDR and Bavarian counterparts, the two Saxon books explain that a common language strengthens group-affiliations. Again, this is illustrated in the context of Greek and German (as well as Celtic – S2) identity¹¹⁰.
- **Citizenship:** This is only mentioned in S2 (in the context of the Roman Empire).
- **State:** Both books stress the fact that states/shared political experiences can bring people(s) closer together and create bonds between them (as, for instance, in early medieval Germany). At the same time, it is pointed out that group-identities are not depended on a central state/political administration – as illustrated by Greek (S1 and S2) or Celtic (S2) history.
- **Enemy/the Other:** This is not a prominent issue in either of the Saxon books; it is mentioned only in S2 in the context of the German-Hungarian war.

¹⁰⁸ “The different tribes developed a unified language and system of writing; they worshipped the same gods and observed the same holidays and festivals. Their common culture made them the Hellenic people” (S2a: 122).

¹⁰⁹ “The new faith brought unity to the Arab tribes for the first time in their history” (S2a: 198).

¹¹⁰ “They were one people – because they spoke the same language and had a common culture – but the Celts were split up into many different tribal groups who lived separately from each other” (S2a: 42).

Additionally, it is interesting to note that similar to the Bavarian books, group-affiliations are mostly discussed in relation to Greek and German identity.

4. No references to nations/national identity and/or 'supra-national' identities:

In contrast to the Bavarian textbooks and much like their GDR predecessors, the Saxon books do not deal with/mention national or 'supra-national' identities.

Summary/comparison

All of the history schoolbooks deal with different forms of socio-political organisation. As such, they contribute to the political education of students. The FRG books tend to focus on states and formal political administration, whereas the GDR books provide a broader overview over different kinds of human socio-organisation. Furthermore, the GDR books adopt a more systematic approach to the subject than their FRG counterparts – they categorise, characterise and evaluate different forms of socio-political organisation according to clearly defined criteria, explore the reasons for change and generally integrate these different types of groups into a larger framework of historical progress. Additionally, unlike the GDR schoolbooks, the FRG books are very much based on the history of a number of different '*Völker*' – namely, those which are considered particularly relevant for the historical narrative as presented in the schoolbooks. All three sets of textbooks explore the nature of group-affiliations and identities to some extent – shared political realities, a common language and culture are often seen as generating a feeling of belonging. Additionally, religion plays an important role in the FRG books and economic interests in the GDR textbooks. Interestingly, blood ties and race are largely ignored in all three sets of schoolbooks. Furthermore, whilst the Bavarian books do not explicitly deal with the issue of national identity, most of textbooks contain fleeting references to the phenomenon indicating an underlying primordialist view of nationalism. The GDR and Saxon books, on the other hand, do not mention the subject at all. Finally, the Bavarian schoolbooks are, to a much

greater extent, concerned with 'supra-national' identities than their East German counterparts.

'National' history

Germanic History

Note: the analysis is limited to Germanic history on the territory of the later German Reich and/or to those tribes which are considered part/predecessors of German national history.

Bavaria

Germanic history does not represent a very prominent theme in any of the Bavarian schoolbooks. Generally, the books speak of the Germanic tribes as an entity as well as deal with a number of sub-groups individually – all of them are, to varying degrees, concerned with the movement of different tribes, with their fate and history (note: B3 focuses very much on this subject; B7 hardly covers it). Furthermore, the early Bavarian books (B2 to B6) make a clear distinction between Western, Northern and Eastern Germanic tribes but tend to focus on the Western tribes as they are seen as direct ancestors of the later German Reich¹¹¹.

The early Bavarian books (B2 to B6) portray Germanic history as a great transitional period; the bridge between the Classical and the medieval world order. Most of the books present the Germanic tribes as the 'heirs' of Classical heritage – the Germanic tribes learn from the Romans, adopt Christianity and incorporate these new practices into their own traditions. As such, they become the carriers of a new culture, they lay the foundations for a new era in European history (this is a particularly prominent theme

¹¹¹"By this point, three large, distinct ethnic groups had established themselves: the North Germanic, West Germanic, and East Germanic peoples. The North Germanic peoples inhabited Scandinavia and Denmark and were the forefathers of the modern Scandinavian peoples. [...] The East Germanic group vanished without trace.[...] Today's Germans are descended in part from the West Germanic group, especially in the regions of Westphalia, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, and Franconia" (B3a: 126-127)

in B2, B4 and B6)¹¹². It is interesting to note that the Bavarian schoolbooks focus very much on the processes behind this ‘mixing and merging’ of traditions and practices, and that Romanisation represents an important theme in all of the books. There are, however, some differences in the way the topic is dealt with: B8 is very positive about the mutual cultural exchange; B5 and B6 focus on the ‘Germanic threat’ to the Roman Empire; and B2 and B3 stress the importance of the ‘Varus Battle’ and the fact that it allowed ‘Germania’ to develop ‘freely’.

This leads on to the next point – the Bavarian books deal with Germanic culture in very different ways: According to B1, the Germanic tribes were ‘uncultured’ people who destroyed the Roman ‘civilisation’. B2 and B3, on the other hand, focus on the loss of Germanic traditions as a result of Romanisation and ascribe great importance to the ‘Varus Battle’ which allowed Germanic culture to develop free from Roman influence. Finally, B4 emphasises the legacy of both Roman and Germanic culture and stresses the emergence of a new hybrid culture between the two in the early medieval period (note: this is also mentioned to a lesser degree in the other three books).

Finally, with the possible exception of B1, the Bavarian books do not attribute particular physical characteristics to the Germanic peoples. At the same time, the analysis showed that all of the early Bavarian books (B1 to B5) are, to varying degrees, concerned with defining the Germanic character:

- With the exception of B4, all of the five books stress the fact that the Germanic tribes were ‘freedom-loving’.
- As mentioned above, B1 describes the Germanic tribes as ‘uncultured’ and ‘uncivilised’.

¹¹² "The ruins of the ancient Mediterranean culture became the cradle of a new age. Therefore the decline of the Western Roman Empire marked a beginning as well as an end: the legacy of the Ancient World, the youthful energy of the Germanic peoples, and the unifying power of Christianity gave birth to the Occidental culture of the Middle Ages" (B2a:165).

"However, the decline of the Roman Empire did not lead to the extinction of the Ancient World's culture [...] Through coming into contact with Christianity and the culture of the Germanic peoples, Roman culture too began to take on new forms. The intermingling of Roman culture, Christianity, and Germanic culture gave birth to the Occidental culture of the Middle Ages. Only the centre of events had now shifted from the Mediterranean to the countries north of the Alps" (B4a: 106).

"In western Europe dominance passed from the Romans to the Germanic tribes" (B5a: 180).

- Germanic characteristics are an especially prominent theme in B2 and B3 which lists a series of positive characteristics (such as bravery, loyalty, etc.), as well as some negative attributes (for example, a weakness for gambling and alcohol)¹¹³.
- B4 describes the Germanic tribes as loyal.
- B1, B2 and B5 mention Tacitus' description of the Germanic tribes – i.e. they focus very much on the positive attributes.

GDR

Like their Bavarian counterparts, all of the GDR schoolbooks (but particularly GDR2) deal with Germanic history to some extent. The books both refer to the Germanic tribes as an entity, as well as distinguish between the histories of individual sub-groups. Most of the GDR textbooks focus on the relationship between the slave-holding Romans and the primordial Germanic tribes; they examine how this relationship affected the socio-economic organisation of the tribes and the development of history in general. Most of the books also deal with the 'Germanic war of liberation' which is generally portrayed as a just, defensive war against an oppressive, 'imperial' power. Furthermore, the textbooks use the 'Varus battle' as an example to illustrate the need for the oppressed to stick together in their struggle against a common enemy¹¹⁴.

¹¹³"The difficult terrain, the dangerous forests and marshes, and the inhospitable climate all put their stamp on the character of the region's inhabitants. Even the Romans wrote admiring accounts of their light, strawberry blond hair, their white, translucent skin, their blazing, wrath-filled eyes, their huge stature, and their superhuman strength. Although it has to be said that the spiritual life of the Germanic tribes – who were still heathen – was a mottled affair of deep shadows as well as light. Their courage, sense of honour, desire for freedom, loyalty, hospitality, fidelity within marriage, and their rich depth of character were countered by Germanic wildness, as well as bloodthirstiness, cruelty, a propensity for drinking and gambling, and selfishness" (B3a: 135).

¹¹⁴ "Coming into contact with the Romans encouraged the development of the productive powers and the culture of the Germanic tribes" (GDR4b: 17).

„Explain why the victorious struggle of the Germanic tribes against the Romans was a just war!“ (GDR4b: 22).

„Arminius took a bunch of small wooden sticks and challenged a Chatti: ‚Break the sticks!‘ The Chatti could not break the bunch. Arminius challenged a Cheruski: ‚You try it!‘ He too did not manage [it]. Then Arminius took the bunch. He pulled out one stick after another and broke them without effort and said: ‚Learn from this: one tribe is as weak as a stick; but if all tribes stick together, they are strong and unbeatable. We Germans belong together. We have a common enemy. If we stick together, we will drive the Romans out of the country. They could only beat us because we were not united!‘” (GDR2a: 62).

Unlike most of their early Bavarian counterparts, the GDR textbooks do not generally attribute particular characteristics to the Germanic peoples – only the first two editions (GDR1 and GDR2) describe them as ‘freedom-loving’.

Post-Unification Saxony

The analysis did not produce any significant results in terms of how the two Saxon books deal with issues of identity, groups/group-affiliations and forms of socio-political organisation in relation to the Germanic tribes.

Summary/comparison

Although Germanic history features in most of the schoolbooks, the topic is not usually very extensively covered. The analysis highlighted some interesting differences between the Bavarian and the GDR schoolbooks: the Bavarian books tend to focus on the cultural exchange between the Germanic tribes and the Romans; they recite Germanic history, characterise the different tribes and stress their role in, as well as their contribution to, history (they are seen as the founders and carriers of a new era). Generally the GDR books are less concerned with the particularities of Germanic history, with the fate and characteristics of individual tribes, but concentrate more on general historical processes. They are more interested in the fact that the Germanic tribes and the Romans are two societies at different stages in their historical development and consider the processes behind and the implications of the contacts and confrontations between them.

The Emergence of German history and identity

Bavaria

Most of the Bavarian schoolbooks see the foundation of the German Reich, the political unification and independence of Germany, as the beginning of German history proper –

Heinrich, Conrad or, most commonly, Otto I. are portrayed as the first German kings¹¹⁵. The Germanic tribes, Charlemagne (particularly prominent in B3, B4 and B6), the Frank Empire and its collapse (the Treaty of Verdun) are, however, ascribed important roles in the run-up to German history and are, therefore, granted a place in the national narrative.

It is thus not surprising that the Bavarian books see common political ties as the basis for German identity. However, additionally most of the schoolbooks suggest that other factors – such as language (B2, B5, B6 and B8), religion (B3 and B5) and common enemies (B3 and B4) – strengthened the bonds between the Germans in the early medieval period.

Furthermore, in the context of German history, all of the Bavarian textbooks (bar B1 – possibly because the second volume was not available, and B2) focus on the duchies, the fragmentation of the 'Reich' (the problems with and/or lack of a strong central administration) and, especially, on the close relationship between the church and the Reich.

GDR

Much like their Bavarian counterparts, most of the GDR books portray the foundation of the German Reich as the beginning of national history proper. Furthermore, as in the Bavarian schoolbooks, the Germanic tribes are seen as the ancestors of modern Germans (GDR2, GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6) and the Frank Empire, as well as its division, are considered important steps in the run-up to German history (interestingly, the GDR textbooks place less emphasis on Charlemagne than the Bavarian books).

¹¹⁵ "The German state developed out of the fusion of the Germanic tribes: the Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringii, Saxons, and Frisians. Although the Merovingians – and later, the Carolingians – managed to bring one Germanic tribe after another under Frankish rule, German history as such did not really begin until the allied Germanic tribes broke away from the Frankish empire and became a separate entity. This decisive historical event took place after the death of the last East Franconian Carolingian king, Louis the Child, in the year 911, when the Germanic tribes ceased swearing allegiance to the West Franconian Carolingians and put Duke Conrad of Franconia on the throne. A bond which had been loosening for some considerable time had finally been severed. Germany became an empire in its own right and Conrad the first German king" (B3b: 39-40).

Generally, all of the GDR books (especially the later editions – particularly GDR6) deal with German identity more extensively than the Bavarian schoolbooks. With the exception of GDR1, all of the books stress the fact that the foundation of the German Reich was a necessary pre-condition for the development of the German ‘*Volk*’¹¹⁶. Furthermore, the later GDR books (GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6) suggest that German group-affiliations were strengthened by the fact that people shared the same language and had common enemies, a common ‘Other’ (the Hungarians are the most common example).

Finally, the GDR books tend to deal with different topics in relation to German (and Frank) history than their Bavarian counterparts. Rather than focusing on political history and the role of the church, the GDR books concentrate on feudalism, the socio-political organisation and problems with administration of the Reich.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books resemble their Bavarian and GDR counterparts in the sense that they mark the foundation of the German state – the political unification and independence of the tribes – as the starting-point of German history (especially S1)¹¹⁷. Furthermore, like the Bavarian schoolbooks, S1 portrays Charlemagne and his empire as a predecessor of the German state (Charlemagne is also ascribed a key role in European history). Interestingly, less emphasis is placed on Germanic roots than in the GDR and Bavarian textbooks.

Both of the books deal with German identity and group-affiliations in some detail: whereas S1 focuses on the role of the state and the political unification of the Germanic

¹¹⁶ “You are now going to find out how the medieval German state grew out of the Frank Empire. This was the starting point of the history of the German people” (GDR5b: 61).

“You will come to see how interaction between members of the different tribes in the proto-feudalist German state led to the emergence of a German people” (GDR6b: 69).

¹¹⁷ “Henry and his successor succeeded in uniting the tribes and establishing a strong monarchy; the united tribes began to regard themselves as one people, and they were referred to more and more frequently as ‘German’. So we can say that German history really began with King Henry I in 919 AD” (S1b: 47).

tribes/Germany (first under Charlemagne and later under Heinrich)¹¹⁸, S2 is more concerned with the importance of the German language, a common enemy/‘Other’¹¹⁹ and shared religious beliefs.

Summary/comparison

All three sets of schoolbooks consider the foundation of the German Reich as the beginning of German history proper; the experience of living in the same state is seen as the basis of German identity. In addition, most of the books stress the role of the German language and common enemies (most frequently the Hungarians) in strengthening group-affiliations. Furthermore, in the Bavarian and GDR books the Germanic tribes and the Frank Empire are seen as important steps in the run-up to German history (note: this does not apply so much to the Saxon books). However, whereas the FRG books focus very much on the relationship between the church and the state as well as on the different duchies in early medieval Germany, the GDR books are more interested in the emergence of feudalism and the socio-political/economic organisation of the Reich.

Question II.2.5.

How do the books deal with states? Do the books present students with an overview/an introduction to different political systems? Do the authors explain how different states are administered, how they operate? Are these

¹¹⁸ “Charlemagne’s wars resulted in large areas of what is now Germany being merged together and becoming part of the greater Frankish empire. Since that time, the people from the Rhine and the Elbe, the Bavarians, Swabians, Hessians, Thuringians, Westphalians, and Lower Saxons have felt bound by a common identity” (S1b: 43).

¹¹⁹ “In their hour of peril, the East Frankish tribes – Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Swabians, and Bavarians – joined forces under the leadership of Otto I and won a great victory at the Battle of Lechfeld near Augsburg. As a result, the defeated Hungarians called a halt to their raids. Otto’s estimation in the eyes of the people grew enormously and the support of the East Frankish tribal regions for the German kingdom was secured” (S 2b:13).

judged/evaluated – i.e. do the authors explain to students what they believe makes a good state and what does not, what strengthens and what weakens states?

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks communicate more or less the same political values and deal with states in a similar way.

- **Democracy and democratic values:** These are promoted in all of the Bavarian textbooks. The books propagate participation, involvement in political decision-making processes, political equality and freedom. By extension some of the books (especially B5 and B6), criticise/paint a negative picture of despotism and oppressive/authoritative styles of leadership (said to be characteristic of the Orient)¹²⁰.
- **Justice:** All of the books argue that states should be based on the concept of justice, that everyone should be treated equally and fairly before the law (in B1 and B7 the issue is less explicit than in some of the other textbooks). The concept of ‘law and order’ (including the security of the citizens) is especially prominent in B2, B3 and B4¹²¹.
- **Citizens’ duties:** This is a particularly important issue in the early editions (B1 to B5). The books suggest that in order for a state to function properly, citizens must feel a sense of duty and responsibility: they must care for their state and their ‘fatherland’ – this involves participating in public life, political decision-

¹²⁰ "The Athenians were the first proponents of the idea of political freedom. In doing so, they made a monumental contribution to world history. By introducing participation for all in the state decision-making process, rebelling against despotic rule, and establishing freedom for all in the eyes of the law, they created concepts which put the structure of their state oceans apart from those of the advanced cultures which had preceded them" (B3a: 51).

"Discuss the dangers which can arise when all the power in a country is concentrated in the hands of one individual" (B8a: 57).

¹²¹ "Although this legal tribunal did not guarantee equal rights under the Law for everyone, and although the punishments it meted out were by our standards cruel, it did manage to establish order in the huge empire" (B3a:19).

making processes and generally looking after and protecting the state and its values¹²².

- **The community comes before the individual:** Especially the early Bavarian books (B2 to B6) make it clear to students that the well-being of the community should come before the interests and needs of individuals and/or particular interest groups¹²³.
- **Rejection of social conflict:** All of the Bavarian textbooks, to varying degrees, stress the fact that social conflicts weaken the state. From B4 onwards, the books suggest that states in which the gap between the rich and the poor is very large cannot function properly (this is a particularly prominent theme in B8).
- **Rejection of internal conflicts:** With the exception of B7, all of the books demonstrate how civil wars and internal power-struggles damage states and their citizens¹²⁴.
- **Good leaders:** All of the books (bar B4 and B7) portray strong leaders in a positive light – especially in times of trouble and turmoil (this is a particularly

"The political and economic decline of the Ancient Greek states brought about a fundamental change in the relationship of the Hellenes to their polis. Their lives no longer belonged to the community, to the state; personal advantage became the main priority of most citizens. Their regard for law and order began to wane. Belief in the old gods dwindled away. A new intellectual current now posed a major threat to the state, its ideas being taught in Athens by a group of philosophers who called themselves Sophists" (B5a: 78).

"The free citizens of these mini-states heroically defended their personal freedoms against the uniformity and tyranny of the mega-state in the east and defeated it through their self-sacrificing love for the city-states which had fathered them" (B3a: 71-2).

¹²³ *"During the last few wars it had become clear that greed, corruptibility, and disloyalty had pushed aside the old virtues, that blackmail and embezzlement were now occurring on a daily basis, and that certain officials had begun to put the pursuit of personal gain above seeing to the welfare of others" (B1: 104).*

"It [history] tells us how people strive to organize communal life; how the individual should integrate himself into society and how society should respect the individual; and how both parties have to recognize their mutual rights and obligations, in order to complement each other and pursue the struggle against poverty, want, and sickness" (B3a: 6).

¹²⁴ *"From now on, Patricians and Plebeians enjoyed universal suffrage: the conflict between the classes was over. Sole credit for this cannot, however, be given to the Patricians – despite their having given in to the Plebeians' demands – for the latter had remained loyal to the res publica during the long, difficult years of the conflict between the classes. From now on, the abbreviation SPQR ('Senatus Populusque Romanus' – 'Senate and People of Rome'), with which the Romans adorned military field insignia and monuments, stood for a people who truly were one with the state they lived in" (B5a: 106).*

"Rome grew powerful thanks to the accord between its citizens; thanks to the conflict between its classes it went to the dogs" (B3a: 93).

prominent theme in the first two editions). By extension, power-struggles between leaders as well as selfish leaders are strongly condemned (for example: B5, B6 and B8). Most of the books praise leaders who are seen to have cared for, loved and looked after their state and their people¹²⁵.

- **Homogenous population:** With the exception of B1 and B4, all of the Bavarian schoolbooks argue that states with homogenous populations (especially in terms of religious beliefs) tend to be stronger and more lasting.
- **The state and religion:** B3, as well as B5 to B8, argue that religion and/or the church can have a positive and stabilising impact on the state – B3 focuses very much on Christianity whereas the other books also mention other religions such as Islam.
- **Mercenaries:** Many of the Bavarian schoolbooks (especially from B5 onwards) stress the fact that mercenary armies can be very dangerous for the state¹²⁶.

In short, the analysis showed that history education in Bavaria very much contributes to the political education of students; that even in the context of the ‘ancient past’ the books communicate and promote key political values.

GDR

¹²⁵ “The world had started to settle down, had started to come alive again – now that his strong hand was securing peace on the domestic front, now that the machinery of state was functioning once more and maintaining order” (B3a: 101).

¹²⁶ “A mercenary does not fight for hearth and home; nor does he fight for his birthplace and his mother country: a mercenary fights for money and personal gain. This was a dangerous state of affairs, because the mercenaries were prepared to follow anyone as long as the price was right. This meant that the army of mercenaries was often a willing tool which ambitious men used to implement their plans. They often abused the power given them in having such an army at their disposal by letting the mercenaries loose on their own people” (B1: 113).

The GDR schoolbooks are fairly homogenous in terms of how they portray states and in the political values they promote (note: GDR2 is slightly different to the rest of the books as it hardly deals with the subject). To summarise:

- **Class-struggle and internal conflict:** All of the GDR books to some extent portray class-struggle as something which weakens states and/or contributes to/brings about their collapse. This is not seen as particularly negative – on the contrary, according to the textbooks, class-struggle represents an important factor in pushing forward historical progress. In this context it is important to reiterate the fact that the GDR books (especially GDR3 and GDR5) are generally concerned with conflicts/conflicting interest-groups within states¹²⁷.
- **The state as an instrument of oppression and exploitation:** Excepting GDR6, all of the GDR schoolbooks portray states as instruments of power, oppression and exploitation; the powerful and wealthy use the state as a tool to maintain and/or strengthen their position in society and/or to increase their wealth¹²⁸.
- **Religion supports exploitative states:** Religion is portrayed as an instrument used by those in power to strengthen the state, keep themselves in power and to maintain the status quo (religion is seen to hinder historical progress by making people conformist, keeping them down – see II.2.3.)¹²⁹.
- **Democracy:** GDR3, GDR4 and GDR5 very much stress the importance of political equality and participation – the authors argue that those states in which certain sectors of the population are excluded from decision-making processes are not democratic in the truest sense of the word (in most books these states are described as ‘slave-holding democracies’)¹³⁰. GDR6 adopts a slightly different

¹²⁷ “Although all the uprisings were eventually put down, the Caliph's power-base had taken something of a beating, with some provinces declaring their independence from his rule. At the same time, the uprisings showed the despotic rulers in the cities the limits of their power” (GDR5b: 93).

¹²⁸ “The state: a collection of institutions which worked – in the interests of the ruling class – to oppress the other classes on its own territory and to invade other territories” (GDR4a: 44).

¹²⁹ “Clovis's conversion to Catholic Christianity secured his power and aided the development of a class society in the Frankish empire. The church became – just as it had been in the Roman slave-owning society – a pillar of the feudal state” (GDR5b: 43).

¹³⁰ “The Athenian state was a slave owners' democracy in which the majority of the population was excluded from the democratic process” (GDR5a: 96).

position: it stresses the fact that democratic developments in the ‘ancient world’ should be viewed in a positive light, that they should be seen a step forward, even if they were not perfect.

- **A common language strengthens the state:** GDR1, GDR4 and GDR6 argue that a common language strengthens the state; that states in which the population speaks different languages are weaker and more difficult to administer.
- **Homogenous population:** GDR1 and GDR4 argue that states with a homogenous population tend to be stronger than those made up of a more diverse population¹³¹.

In short, the sections devoted to the ‘ancient past’ in the GDR books communicate clear messages in terms of political values and ideology.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books portray a similar view of states and promote similar political values as their Bavarian counterparts:

- **Democracy and democratic values:** Like the Bavarian schoolbooks, both of the Saxon textbooks promote democracy and democratic values – for example, they stress the importance of participation in public life and in political decision-making processes. By extension, S1 strongly rejects dictatorships.
- **Justice:** Again, much like the Bavarian books, the Saxon schoolbooks argue that states should be based on a firm legal footing and suggest that everyone should be treated equally before the law¹³². Additionally, it is worth noting that the concept of ‘law and order’ represents an important theme in S2.

¹³¹ “It was very difficult to administer the huge empire [...] It was inhabited by numerous different tribes. There was no common language which was understood by all” (GDR1: 303).

¹³² “..Hammurabi. Written laws provided security for the king's subjects:

- **Rejection of internal conflicts:** S2 strongly resembles the Bavarian schoolbooks in the sense that it clearly illustrates the horrors of civil war and the negative effects that internal conflicts and power-struggles can have on the state.
- **The community comes before the individual:** S2 stresses the fact that the well-being of the community is more important than individual interests; that people should compromise their own desires, aspirations and needs in the interest of the community.
- **Homogenous population:** S1 argues that states with a heterogeneous society tend to be weaker than those with a homogenous population.
- **Citizens' duties:** S1 indicates that it is important for people to support the state.

In summary, Saxon books break with GDR traditions and adopt a more West German approach to states and citizenship.

Summary/Comparison

All three sets of schoolbooks contribute to the students' political education and communicate clear political values. There are, however, profound differences between the FRG and GDR books in terms of how states are portrayed: in the FRG books states are something positive, something which can – depending on the political system in place – ensure the freedom and security of its citizens. Democracy, participation, love and consideration for the community, as well as justice, represent the key themes in the Bavarian and Saxon books. The GDR schoolbooks, on the other hand, tend to view states as negative and oppressive: states are usually portrayed as serving the interests of the rich and the powerful, as tools which are used to control and oppress the majority of

-
- *Unlawful acts were punishable by law.*
 - *A sentence could only be passed if the defendant had been proven guilty.*
 - *Sentences could only be passed by the king or by judges appointed by him.*
 - *The king and his judges were also obliged to obey the law.*
 - *The laws were known to everyone” (S2a: 55).*

the population. By extension, they are seen as being transformed and/or torn apart by class-struggle.

Question II.2.6.

How do the schoolbooks deal with the ‘homeland’? In particular, how is the German’ landscape and homeland is presented the schoolbooks? Do the books promote an attachment to the German homeland? And, if so how is this done?

Bavaria

Excepting B7, all of the Bavarian books are somewhat concerned with the impact that geography, climate and landscape have on people’s character, identity and on the ways in which humans organise their lives. The books suggest that groups are, to a certain extent, connected to the land they live on; that they are shaped by it¹³³.

Interestingly, the books hardly mention this relationship between the land and the people in the context of German history – only B4 and B5 touch on the subject and describe the thick primeval forests, the wild and rough landscape and the bad weather that the Germanic tribes had to deal with (note: B8 deals with Bavarian geography in some detail).

GDR

The GDR books generally place less emphasis on exploring the relationship between land and people. At the same time, they devote more space to describing the German ‘homeland’ than the Bavarian schoolbooks (this is particularly true for GDR1 and,

¹³³ “The transparent clarity of the air and the bright blue sky; a populace rich in natural gifts and both hard-working and cheerful; the close proximity to the sea (which sharpens both the eye and the imagination) ; the contrast between icy mountain ranges and burning tropical sun, between aridity and abundance: all of these things led here to the evolution of a cosmopolitan race of people – a race whose feats in all areas of human activity are still regarded today as counting among the most illustrious cultural achievements of all time” (B1: 12).

especially, GDR2). In this context the GDR books – much like B4 and B5 – tend to focus on the thick forests and the rough landscape (note: GDR1, GDR2 and GDR3 emphasise the efforts to ‘tame’ the land, to make it habitable).

Post-Unification Saxony

S1 makes fleeting references to the thick forests and the wilderness of the German landscape but does not explore the topic in any detail. S2 does not deal with the German ‘homeland’ at all.

Summary/comparison

Generally, the German homeland does not represent an important topic in any of the schoolbooks. However, most of the books describe the thick primeval forests and the rough geography and climate of ‘ancient’ Germany to some extent. In short, the German landscape is not made to sound particularly appealing or loveable; the books do not place any emphasis on fostering pride in or attachments to the German homeland. Some of them do, however, suggest that it requires a particularly tough nature.

Research Area 3

General ideas about the course of history, historical processes and dynamics

Question II.3.1.

Is history taught in chronological order? If not, how is it taught?

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian curricula are more or less based on a chronological structure that starts at the earliest event in the historical narrative that is being told (usually, but not always, prehistory) and ends at the present day. The 2001 edition is somewhat of an exception as it includes a more ‘thematic’ part at the end of each chapter. These sections usually discuss certain practices/aspects of life in more detail and compare them across different historical periods.

Another exception is the 1950 curriculum which starts off with the ‘Early Modern’ period (i.e. not with the earliest event in the historical narrative). In the 1950s, Middle School history education was not designed as a course in itself but was seen as continuation of Basic School education (as we have seen in 3.2., at this time most students will have attended Basic School before starting their 3 year Middle School education). This explains why the ‘Early Modern period’ features so heavily in this curriculum (see II.1.1.1.iv) – it was covered twice; once to finish off the ‘chronological cycle’ that was started in Basic School and again as students went through the whole course of history (from prehistory to present day) for a second time in year 9 and 10 of their ‘Middle School’ education.

It is also worth noting that in the 1980s edition the chapter on prehistory is preceded by an introduction to local history – the intention behind this is probably to ‘ease’ the students into the new subject by starting with an area that they are familiar with.

GDR

All of the GDR curricula follow a chronological structure – from prehistory to the ‘Modern period’.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon curricula largely adhere to a chronological structure, but both of them have certain particularities:

- In the 1992 curriculum, as in its 1980s Bavarian counterpart, the chapter on prehistory is preceded by an introduction to local history.
- Similar to the 2001 Bavarian curriculum, in the 2004 Saxon edition each chapter concludes with a more ‘thematic’ section in which certain practices and aspects of life are explored in more detail and are compared across different historical periods (comparisons between the past and the present are particularly common). This explains why such a large number of topics were categorised as ‘other’ and ‘unspecified’ in this curriculum (see II.1.1.1.).

Summary/comparison

The curricula largely stick to a chronological narrative – most of them start with the earliest event and finish with ‘Modern history’. Some of the more recent FRG curricula include a more thematic section at the at the end of each chapter.

Question II.3.2.

How do the textbooks portray historical processes and dynamics?

Bavaria

All of the Bavarian schoolbooks are very similar in the way they present historical processes and dynamics. To summarise:

- **‘Völker’/cultures:** This was already discussed in relation to Question II.2.4.: the Bavarian textbooks focus very much on – and are structured around – the history of a number of different peoples/cultures. This approach shapes the way historical processes and dynamics are portrayed – history is essentially presented as a chain or net made-up of, and connected by, different ‘Völker’/cultures. Things are said to develop and progress as one peoples’ traditions or practices get passed on to their successors and/or neighbours who then modify, add-to and/or improve them¹³⁴.
- **Historical periods and progress:** History is divided into several periods: some are universal (such as prehistory); others are more specific to certain areas or ‘peoples’ (such as Ancient Greece). Historical periods are generally portrayed as quite fluid; transitions do not happen overnight and they also do not happen at the same time and at the same pace everywhere¹³⁵. ‘Progress’ represents an

¹³⁴ “Their culture was adopted by Semitic peoples and further advanced” (B1: 4).

“The appearance of the horse-riding Meder people on the historical stage marked the entrance of peoples we now refer to as Indo-Europeans or Indo-Germanics” (B6a: 35).

“Just as the Cretans developed their culture from the Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures, the Ancient Greeks took and refined many elements of their culture from the culture of Crete” (B3a: 35).

¹³⁵ “In the Near East and in the Mediterranean countries, the dim mists of prehistory give way to the written historical records of the Ancient World much earlier than they did in the countries north of the Alps. While human life was being lived at an exceedingly simple level here, great waves of development were taking place in the Near East and North Africa which led to the establishment of advanced civilizations as early as the Stone Age” (B2a: 7).

“The enormous changes which took place in Europe during the Migration Period, the decline of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.), the spread of Christianity as a new religion, and the increase in power of the Germanic peoples - all of these things closed the curtain on the Ancient World and heralded the beginning of a new historical period: the Middle Ages. This did not occur overnight and did not happen simultaneously in all places. Firmly rooted in the deep foundations of Antiquity, the new guiding principle of Christianity grew up, receiving its political form from the Germanic peoples in the realm of the Middle Ages” (B4b: 9).

„The heritage Rome passed on to later centuries was enormous. Monks rescued the achievements of classical technology, agricultural-management, horticulture into the Middle Ages. They also preserved the intellectual treasures of the Classical period. Until today one can find aspects of Roman law in our judicial system and until today the Latin language preserves the intellectual property of the Classical period. – The young Germanic peoples became heirs of the Graeco-Roman culture. Together with the Catholic church they took up the idea of ‘eternal Rome’ and created a spiritual empire, in which Christianity was connected with the Classical world. It was in the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations that the spark of the Roman Empire continued to shine until modern times” (B5a: 180).

important theme in most of the Bavarian textbooks. Interestingly, this is not dealt with in an explicit or systematic manner but is implicit in both the structure of the books as well as in certain phrases used by the authors. Most of the books suggest that things generally get better and more sophisticated over time (this is particularly visible in chapters on prehistory – see B5 and B8 for example). Also, the majority of the schoolbooks categorise ‘peoples’ and cultures according to their ‘level of civilisation’ – some ‘peoples’ are said to be more advanced than others¹³⁶. Finally, it is important to stress the fact that the Bavarian textbooks do not specify where this historical development is thought to be heading; they do not provide a clear framework of historical processes and progress.

- **‘Significance’ and turning points in history:** All of the Bavarian textbooks very much stress the fact that not all ‘peoples’, cultures and/or periods in history are equally important. The level of ‘significance’ is determined by their impact on the course of history and, by extension, on the present¹³⁷. In connection to this it is necessary to mention the fact that most of the Bavarian schoolbooks – especially the early ones (B1 to B4) – place much emphasis on so-called ‘turning-points in history’, events which significantly changed the course of history (for instance, the birth of Jesus Christ)¹³⁸.
- **Events trigger other events:** All of the Bavarian books stress the fact that certain events or developments in history triggered other events and developments: they do not happen in a vacuum; they are influenced and determined by their temporal and spatial context. Some of the schoolbooks (B2, B5 and B6) explicitly state that new developments and modern practices are rooted in the past, that the past determines and influences what is possible in the

¹³⁶ “The people of the early Palaeolithic era were no longer ‘savages’: they possessed a highly developed hunting culture” (B5a: 12).

“Civilized culture: a denomination for cultures which – in comparison with so-called primitive cultures – have more sophisticated means of harnessing nature at their disposal, possess advanced political and social systems, feature a more highly developed intellectual life, and achieve a finer degree of expression in the arts” (B8a: 56).

¹³⁷ “Although there had already been individual tribal migrations, the period which saw the mass migrations of entire peoples is regarded as one of the defining moments in European history. These mass migrations completely changed the established order in Europe” (B8a: 183).

¹³⁸ “At this time, the most important event in world history occurred: Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem. For Christians, this marks the beginning of a new age” (B4a: 84).

present – either directly by creating the context/the conditions or more indirectly by providing role-models and guidance for people in the present¹³⁹.

- **Geography:** As already mentioned in relation to Question II.2.6., almost all of the Bavarian textbooks ascribe a certain importance to geography and climate – the physical environment shapes the historical development as well as forms of human organisation, traditions, characteristics and practices (for example, see B2, B3, B4, B6 and B8)¹⁴⁰.

In short, the Bavarian schoolbooks very much stress the unique and individual aspects of each period – it is particular peoples who contribute to and shape the course of history, it is specific events and developments which trigger other specific events and developments. At the same time, the books emphasise the fact that history cannot develop freely – it is always shaped by its temporal and spatial context. In most cases, however, the context itself is thought to be unique.

GDR

The GDR schoolbooks are fairly similar in the way they deal with historical developments and dynamics:

- **Historical periods and progress:** History is divided into successive stages defined by the prevalent forms of socio-economic/political organisation and the power structures in place, as well as by the distribution of wealth (means of production) and the degree of social and political equality. Most of the GDR books suggest that historical developments and processes follow universal laws, that they take place everywhere in the world (although not necessarily at the same time or at pace). Historical progress – the transition from one stage of

¹³⁹ “They came to the conclusion that Athens’ transformation over several hundred years from a plutocracy to a democracy could not have been predicted – or even planned – from the outset: instead, it had been subject to a variety of circumstances, events, and decisions” (B7: 9).

¹⁴⁰ “Thus, the Nile also helped to promote the state system” (B 3a:13).

“Hardly anywhere else on Earth have landscape and natural resources left such a deep mark on the cultural life of a country as they did in Egypt. This is especially true of art and science, whose debt to the environment they sprang up in cannot be denied” (B 3a:14).

history to the next level – is portrayed as something very positive; it is initiated by class-struggle and technological developments and is thought to eventually lead to a better and fairer world-order (to socialism/communism). It is this deterministic and positive view of historical progress which leads to an ambiguous perception of human suffering: the books clearly condemn the exploitation, oppression and torture of people; yet, they propose that human societies have/had to pass through these stages in order to reach a point in history where people can be totally free and equal. Human suffering initiates class-struggle which, in turn, triggers historical progress which eventually makes exploitation and oppression redundant. Finally, despite the focus on universal laws, the GDR books also stress the importance of historical context. For example, whereas feudalism is said to develop simultaneously in the Arab Caliph System, the Byzantine and the Frank Empire, the particularities of this development – the way feudalism is established and manifests itself – varies between the three areas. In order to illustrate the relationship between universal laws and the particularities of historical developments and processes, the books tend to focus on a number of case studies, as well as systematically explore the similarities and differences of certain phenomena and historical stages (*'Systematisierungen'*)¹⁴¹.

- **Connection between the past, the present and the future:** This is closely connected to the last point – basically, the GDR books stress the fact that history has to undergo different stages in order to reach an ideal state. All development, all progress – no matter how negative at the time (for instance, slavery) – is positive and worthwhile because it brings human society closer to the time when all exploitation, oppression and inequality are eliminated. As such, the books

¹⁴¹ "But even in those days, people still dreamed of a better future and fought courageously for a Socialist world, like the one which has become a reality in our country" (GDR6a:5).

"A social order which is based on the exploitation of slaves cannot continue to exist forever. If the oppressed class revolts and no longer wishes to live that way, and the ruling class is no longer able to maintain its power, the prevailing social order will collapse" (DDR 5b:24).

"Increased productivity by the workforce enabled the development of the sciences and arts" (GDR5a: 73).

"A return to the way of life of the hunters and gatherers is no longer possible today. Most people would die, as the food supply would be insufficient to sustain them. This fact illustrates how undeveloped the way of life of the hunters and gatherers was" (GDR1: 31).

"The transition to feudalism took place in many areas of the world. It was a historical process which took place not only in central and western Europe. Some peoples adopted this new system earlier, others later. Although feudalism appeared in a number of different forms, there are many common aspects to the manner in which it surfaced and developed among the various different peoples" (GDR4b: 70).

adopt a somewhat deterministic view of history – things will happen eventually and in a certain order. This does not, however, mean that people can be idle, that they do not have any influence over their destiny. As mentioned above, most of the books forcefully argue that historical progress happens as a result of class-struggle – the fight for freedom and certain ideals. As such, students are encouraged to become convinced and determined citizens of the GDR and to fight for socialism in their country and in the rest of the world¹⁴².

- **‘Inter-connectedness’ of history:** The GDR schoolbooks emphasise the ‘inter-connectedness’ of history: first, different peoples and cultures are thought to influence each other and to learn from one another. Whereas the Bavarian textbooks focus on the particularities of this exchange (on the actual heritage), the GDR books are also concerned with the general historical processes behind this exchange. Second, the textbooks suggest that certain events and developments trigger other events and developments (for example, new technological inventions lead to changes in the socio-economic organisation)¹⁴³.
- **‘Significance’ and ‘Golden Ages’:** The GDR books are to a lesser extent concerned with the ‘significance’ of historical periods, cultures and/or peoples than their Bavarian counterparts. However, this does not mean that it is not an issue at all: for example, in GDR4 the foundation of the GDR is said to be one of the most significant events in history. Similarly, the GDR books do not tend

¹⁴² “It was shown that the German Democratic Republic could only be created through the enormous courage and sacrifice of the proletariat in the class struggle and that the GDR belongs to the great community of the socialist world system” (GDR5a: 6).

“On the one hand, the exploitation and oppression of the working classes brought misery and desperation to millions of people. However, the exploitation and oppression of the workers enabled agriculture and handicrafts to rapidly develop to a more advanced level than the economy of prehistoric society. They were also the prerequisites for the development of the Ancient Oriental culture” (GDR 4a:68).

¹⁴³ “The main results of advances in animal husbandry and crop cultivation techniques were an increase in the maintenance of livestock and a transition to a system of large-scale crop storage – factors which caused nomadic hunters and gatherers to settle down and become farmers. These developments resulted in the Germanic tribes being able to produce a surplus of food and goods. Consequently, differences began to emerge in the amounts of land owned by particular individuals or families, and wealth started to be concentrated in the hands of a few. These growing differences between the members of the tribes were reflected in the village settlements where a system of land tenure was in operation. There was an accompanying increase in the number of dependent farmhands, farm girls, and craftsmen, who were tied to the estates and had to work for the squires of the estates” (GDR6b: 26).

“The primeval social conditions which predominated in the regions bordering the areas settled by the Greeks were soon completely replaced by newly emergent class societies” (GDR4a: 85).

to focus as much on ‘peaks in history’ and on ‘Golden Ages’ as the Bavarian schoolbooks.

In summary, the GDR books adopt a deterministic view of historical progress – human societies pass through a number of developmental stages, history is thought to eventually lead to a better world order (socialism/communism). These developments are subject to universal laws and every human society in every part of the world can be – based on the stage of their development – fitted into the general framework of historical progress. As such, it is not surprising that the textbooks are greatly concerned with general processes and that less significance is attributed to the particularities of certain cultures and/or periods. However, the exact characteristics and particularities of the wider processes are thought to be dependent on historical context and are thus considered unique. This explains why the books focus on certain case studies.

Post-Unification Saxony

The two Saxon books closely resemble each other in their approach to historical processes and dynamics:

- **‘Peoples’:** Similar to the Bavarian schoolbooks, they stress the fact that ‘peoples’ influence each other; that knowledge, traditions and practices, etc., are passed on from one ‘*Volk*’/culture to another¹⁴⁴.
- **Events trigger other events:** Both books explain that certain events and developments trigger other events and developments, that history is ‘inter-connected’,¹⁴⁵. The Saxon books more closely resemble their Bavarian counterparts than the GDR books in the way they deal with this issue.
- **Historical Progress:** Historical progress is a major theme in both of the books in relation to prehistory, not so much in other chapters. Like the Bavarian

¹⁴⁴ “Greek culture and science soon began to make their influence felt in Rome and the Western Roman Empire” (S1a: 127).

¹⁴⁵ “The metal working process led to the creation of even more new crafts and trades” (S1a: 46).

schoolbooks, the Saxon books distinguish between more and less ‘advanced’/‘primitive’ ways of life¹⁴⁶.

- **Connection between the past and the present:** This is an especially important topic in S1: the book is very much concerned with making the past relevant to the present and with explaining the origins of the students’ reality.

Saxon books part with the GDR traditions and deal with historical developments and processes in a very similar way to their Bavarian counterparts.

Summary/comparison

Despite some superficial similarities, the GDR and the FRG books are very different in the way they deal with historical processes and dynamics: whereas the FRG books focus much more on individual periods, peoples and cultures, on their contribution to history and their role in pushing forward historical progress, the GDR books portray historical progress as being subject to universal laws. At the same time, the GDR books suggest that the ways in which societies respond to/realise these universal laws is dependent on and, therefore, varies with the historical context. Furthermore, the FRG books do not specify where they think historical development is heading, whereas the GDR books communicate a clear message: they specify that all historical progress lead to (in some countries)/will eventually lead to socialism/communism, to a fairer and better world order. Both the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks stress the fact that students have a responsibility to act and to actively shape history – according to most of the FRG books, people’s actions create historical context and thus dictate what developments are possible at any one point in time; according to the majority of the GDR books, students need to actively support class-struggle, push forward historical progress and fight for socialism.

¹⁴⁶ “The invention of the wooden scratch-plough or ard, which was pulled by people at first and then later by cattle or oxen, was therefore a great improvement and labour saving device” (S2a: 34).
“Thanks to technological advances, we now live in greater comfort and security, and we also live longer. Write down as many aspects of modern life as you can think of that you would have had to do without if you had lived in the Palaeolithic era. You should also discuss how we can protect and preserve the environment in spite of all the technological advances that have taken place” (S2a: 44).

Research Area 4

Didactics and how the schoolbooks interact with students

Question II.4.1.

Are there any references to the present (or the future)? If so, in which contexts do they appear and what purposes do they serve? Do they tell us anything about the way the three temporal dimensions are connected?

Bavaria

Some of the schoolbooks contain a large number of references to the present (e.g. B7), others hardly any (e.g. B5). In some of the books (especially B3 and B8) the number of references to the present varies considerably between different chapters – in B3, for instance, they are very common in the sections on prehistory and the post-Roman period and less frequent elsewhere.

Despite these differences, the contexts in which references to the present occur are very similar in all textbooks:

- Possibly with the exception of B7, references to the present appear in relation to geography, climate and/or location (particularly in B2 and B4) – the books either point out in which modern nation-state, in/near which modern city, etc., ‘ancient’ events, etc., took place, or they describe the landscape, geography, climate, etc., of a particular place.
- All refer to the present in connection to historical and archaeological work, knowledge, artefacts and/or sources (especially common in B2, B5, B7 and B8).
- All are concerned with the legacy of the past, with the impact of the past on the present (see Question II.2.2.).
- All draw comparisons between the past and the present – especially in B5, B6 and B7. In most cases, these comparisons are used to explain new and unfamiliar concepts and ideas to students. Furthermore, in some instances comparisons between the past and the present are used to demonstrate the extent to which the

past influences the present (see II.2.2.) or, uncommonly, to guide students in their evaluation of past events/practices, etc.

- In most of the books (bar B1 – possibly because the second volume was not available, B3 and B7) references to the present appear in chapters on modern religious groups, beliefs and practices – especially in connection to Islam (very common), Judaism and Christianity.

GDR

As in the Bavarian textbooks, the number of references to the present varies between the different GDR schoolbooks. For example, GDR1 and GDR6 contain a large number and GDR5 hardly contains any at all. Furthermore, not all of the chapters contain an equal number – this is especially true for GDR6 in which they are very common in the sections on prehistory and the German feudal state, and are used considerably less frequently in relation to the Romans and the Germanic tribes.

References to the present appear in following contexts:

- As in the Bavarian schoolbooks, in all of the GDR books references to the present appear in relation to geography, climate and/or location (particularly common in GDR5).
- Much like their Bavarian counterparts, all of the books refer to the present in relation to historical and archaeological methods, sources, artefacts, etc. – particularly in GDR1, GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6.
- All of the GDR books are, to a certain extent, concerned with the legacy of the past, with the impact of the past on the present (see II.2.2.).
- Possibly with the exception of GDR5, all of the books draw comparisons between the past and the present. These fulfil three main functions: first, they are mostly used to explain new and unfamiliar practices, ideas and concepts to students. Second, they are used to demonstrate how far ‘we’ have come. Third, comparisons between the past and the present are used to guide students in their evaluation of both past and present practices and conditions (for example, to

demonstrate the superiority of democracy in the GDR when compared to ancient Greece).

- References to the present are not as common in relation to modern religious groups, beliefs and practices as in their Bavarian counterparts; they only appear in GDR4.

Post-Unification Saxony

Both of the Saxon schoolbooks contain a relatively large number of references to the present. Again, these appear in a range of different contexts:

- In relation to geography, climate and/or location.
- In relation to historical and archaeological work, artefacts, sources etc. (especially S1).
- As discussed in relation to Question II.2.2., both books are concerned with the legacy of the past and its impact on the present.
- Both books (S2 more so than S1) draw comparisons between the past and the present – these fulfil the same functions as in the GDR and the Bavarian textbooks, see above.
- S2 in particular discusses modern religious groups, practices and beliefs in some detail – especially Judaism and Islam.
- S1 contains sections on ‘History and the Present’ at the end of each main chapter.

Summary/comparison

All three sets of schoolbooks closely resemble each other in terms of how references to the present are used in the text. The results of this part of the analysis do not offer any particularly valuable insights into the nature of the historical consciousness displayed and promoted in the textbooks.

Question II.4.2

Do students learn about the work with historical sources? Is history presented as fact?

Bavaria

Despite certain similarities, the Bavarian textbooks differ considerably in the way they deal with historical methods and sources.

1. Introduction to historical and archaeological sources and methods

- Generally the later Bavarian textbooks (especially B6 and B8) provide a more comprehensive introduction to historical and archaeological sources and methods than the earlier editions:
 - B1 does not contain an introduction to historical and archaeological work and sources.
 - B2 to B5 contain very brief introductions to historical and archaeological sources; nothing detailed and nothing on the limitations of the sources.
 - B6 contains a fairly detailed section on historical and archaeological sources – it touches upon some of the limitations but does not discuss these in detail. Furthermore, B6 also provides a relatively comprehensive overview over some archaeological methods and principles.
 - B7 contains a small section on the influence of propaganda on historical sources – it touches upon the limitations and the subjective nature of historical interpretation and research, and briefly explains some very basic methods and research tools.
 - B8 contains by far the most comprehensive overview of historical and archaeological sources and methods. Methodology ‘lessons’ are contained at fairly frequent intervals.

- Most of the early Bavarian schoolbooks argue that history is fact, that it tells the truth (see B1, B2, B4, B5 and B6). B7 is generally more open about historical work and sources and suggests that there is an element of subjectivity in the interpretation of sources. B8 takes this a step further, it places much emphasis on teaching students about methods and gives them insights into the production of historical knowledge. The book explicitly states that sources need to be interpreted and that our interpretation of the past changes over time.
- Although most of the Bavarian schoolbooks make vague references to the limitations of our historical knowledge, the issue is not extensively or systematically discussed in any of the books. Generally, the later editions tend to be more open about limitations than the early textbooks.

2. Sites, finds and archaeological remains

- Archaeological sources are mentioned in all of the Bavarian schoolbooks, but the more recent textbooks (B6 onwards) generally contain more references to sites, finds and archaeological remains.
- In most cases – especially in the first three editions (B1 to B3) – references to sites, finds and archaeological remains are used to back-up certain arguments and/or to illustrate what has been explained in the main text. Additionally, in the later schoolbooks (particularly from B6 onwards) such references often appear in ‘student-tasks’ – in many cases students are asked to work with the archaeological evidence, to think about it and/or to deduce information from it

3. Quotes

- Quotes from ancient sources (and, to a much lesser extent, from modern historians/sources) are present in all of the Bavarian textbooks. However,

like references to archaeological remains, they are more frequently found in the later textbooks (from B6 onwards).

- Like the references to sites, finds and archaeological remains, quotes are predominantly used to support certain arguments and/or to illustrate certain points. This is particularly true for the early editions (B1 to B5). From B6 onwards quotes are also used as ‘independent’ sources of information which introduce students to topics not discussed in the main text. Furthermore, more emphasis is placed on source-work, and quotes frequently appear in ‘student-tasks’: pupils are asked to work with quotes, to think about them and/or to extract information from them. It is interesting to note that B6 and B8 contain contradictory quotes on certain subjects intended to make students think about the nature of written sources.

4. Exceptions to the rule

In all of the Bavarian books (possibly bar B3 and B8) some sections deal with historical work and sources in a different way than the rest of the book:

- In the early schoolbooks (B1 to B3) historical work and sources are dealt with much more comprehensively in the chapters on the Germanic tribes than in the remaining parts of the book.
- B5 contains more information about historical sources and is more explicit about the limitations of our knowledge of the past in relation to the Migration period than in connection to other historical periods.
- The later books (B5 to B7) much more extensively discuss the data available for early Bavarian history than for other historical periods; they openly talk about the limitations of our knowledge and outline different theories and ideas on the subject.

In short, the analysis shows a clear trend: the later Bavarian schoolbooks (from B6 onwards) deal with historical and archaeological methods and sources to a much greater extent than the early editions; they make much more of an effort to explain how knowledge of the past is produced and to teach students how to think critically, to work

with sources and come to their own conclusions. At the same time it is important to stress that in all of the books – especially in the early editions – history is largely presented as a narrative, as a true story.

GDR

The results of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

1. Introduction to historical and archaeological sources and methods

- None of the books deal extensively with historical or archaeological sources and methods. However, the later GDR books tend cover the topic in more detail (a trend also observed in the Bavarian schoolbooks):
 - GDR1 contains a small introduction to historical sources, nothing detailed.
 - GDR2 and GDR3 hardly cover the topic at all.
 - GDR4, GDR5 and GDR6 contain very short and basic introductions to historical and archaeological sources and methods without mentioning their limitations at all (GDR6 contains slightly more detail than GDR4 and GDR5).
- In the GDR books history is presented as fact. Generally, it can be said that the books promote faith and trust in scholarly work and that they do not encourage critical thought or questioning (particularly in GDR5). Additionally, the textbooks tend to make clear distinctions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ developments. These values judgements are largely presented as truth, not to be questioned. Indeed GDR5 especially contains many ‘student-tasks’ animating pupils to take sides in historical conflicts and to evaluate past events from a particular perspective.
- The books only very rarely hint at the limitations of our knowledge of the past (for example, GDR3 and GDR4).

2. Sites, finds and archaeological remains

- All of the books contain references to sites, finds and archaeological remains. Despite the fact that there is not such a clear pattern as in the Bavarian schoolbooks, the analysis showed a similar trend: the earlier GDR books (GDR2 and GDR3) contain fewer references to sites and remains than the later editions (GDR5 and, especially, GDR6). GDR1 and GDR4 cannot be easily fitted into this pattern as the number of references to archaeological sources varies quite considerably between chapters.
- References to sites, finds and archaeological remains are mostly used to support certain arguments and/or to illustrate a certain point. The books tend to demonstrate what information can be deduced from archaeological sources – they present students with an interpretation rather than encouraging them to think for themselves (GDR1 and GDR4 are particularly good examples for this).

3. Quotes

- The first and the last two GDR books (GDR1, GDR5 and GDR6) make extensive use of quotes, whereas GDR2 and GDR3 contain very few. In GDR4 the number of quotes varies considerably between the chapters.
- In all books the main function of quotes is to back up certain arguments and/or to illustrate certain points. Only GDR6 hints at the fact that quotes might not be entirely objective but does not discuss this in any detail.

4. Exceptions to the rule

Unlike the Bavarian books, not all of the GDR textbooks deal with historical sources and methods differently in certain sections of the book. This has only been observed in two cases:

- GDR1 more extensively deals with historical sources and the production of historical knowledge in relation to the Germanic tribes.
- GDR2 more openly discusses historical sources and methods in the chapter on the Slavs.

In short, none of the GDR books discuss historical and/or archaeological sources and methods in any detail; history is largely presented as fact. However, later editions tend to be slightly more open about the production of historical knowledge. Furthermore, most of the textbooks suggest that history can be divided into positive and negative developments.

Post-Unification Saxony

To summarise the results of the analysis:

1. Introduction to historical and archaeological sources and methods

- Both of the books contain a relatively comprehensive introduction to historical and archaeological sources and methods. Furthermore, both suggest that historical knowledge is somewhat subjective – for instance, S1 stresses the fact that historical writing is selective and S2 emphasises the fact that historical work relies heavily on interpretation.
- Both contain a relatively large number of references to the limitations of our knowledge of the past and point out that we cannot be sure how things really happened.

2. Sites, finds and archaeological remains

- Both books contain a large number of references to sites, finds and archaeological remains (especially S1).
- The books frequently demonstrate what can be learned from archaeological remains. Furthermore, references to sites, finds and remains commonly appear in ‘student-tasks’ – students are to work with sources, to think about what they can teach us, and/or to deduce information from them. Rarely are references to archaeological remains used to support particular arguments.

3. Quotes

- Both of the books contain quotes from ancient sources.
- In both, quotes are used to back up certain arguments and/or to illustrate certain points. At the same time, students are frequently asked to work with quotes and to think about what they can teach ‘us’ about the past. S1, especially, is very critical about written sources.

4. Exceptions to the rule

- N/A

In short, like their contemporary Bavarian counterparts the two Saxon books focus much more on historical and archaeological methods and are generally more open about the production of historical knowledge than the earlier Bavarian editions and GDR schoolbooks.

Summary/comparison

The most recent Bavarian schoolbooks and the two Saxon textbooks are much more open about the production of historical knowledge and place much more emphasis on teaching students about historical and archaeological methods than their GDR

counterparts and the earlier Bavarian editions. Furthermore, the latest FRG books actively encourage critical thought and adopt a more fluid and open approach to the interpretation of the past – they accept and promote the fact that there is not necessarily only one true version of the past. At the same time, it is important to note that these books do not move away from the traditional narrative textbook style. The GDR books and the early Bavarian editions present history as fact and are less concerned with teaching students historical skills.

Chapter 6

Discussion: the ‘Ancient Past’ in the Public Historical Consciousness and how this Relates to Notions of National Identity

This section draws together and summarises the results of the analysis, and links them to the theoretical framework as outlined in chapter one. The aim is to gain a better understanding of how public historical narratives about the ‘ancient past’ fit into and are affected by the wider socio-political processes which generate and define public notions of historical consciousness and national identity. Specifically, it explores whether (and if so, how) the different components of public historical narratives, their intended functions (including the promotion of national identities) and the way they are communicated to the ‘private sphere’ differ between the two German states and/or whether they change over the course of post-war German history.

6.1. ‘Content’ of historical narratives – components and intended functions

6.1.1. Selection of information: what are the historical narratives about?

Three areas are of particular interest in the context of this thesis – these are discussed in turn:

6.1.1.1. ‘Ancient history’

The analysis showed that all of the curricula closely resemble each other with regard to the importance they ascribe to the ‘ancient past’ – in both the FRG and the GDR curricula only a relatively small number of topics were categorised as ‘ancient history’. It was observed that the number of ‘ancient’ topics decreased over time – the more recent FRG and GDR curricula contain a larger percentage of ‘non-ancient history’ topics than those produced in the immediate post-war period.

These findings are especially interesting in the light of numerous arguments by scholars who have suggested that ‘ancient history’ often plays a particularly important role in public historical narratives, that it has a special place in defining a nation’s or a collective’s sense of identity. According to these theories nations often trace back their history as far as possible and draw much attention to distant ‘Golden Ages’ – antiquity strengthens claims to legitimacy and generally boosts the feeling of self-worth (for example, Lowenthal 1985: 53; Rüsen et al. 1991: 232-33; Shnirelman 1999: 45).

So why is it that in both the FRG and the GDR ‘ancient history’ features so little in comparison to ‘non-ancient history’? There are several possible explanations for this:

1. The sections on the ‘ancient past’ represent an introduction to the main part of the historical narrative which is largely concerned with ‘national history’. This argument is supported by the fact that the great majority of the ‘non-ancient’

topics are devoted to ‘national history’ whereas ‘ancient history’ largely deals with ‘non-national history’.

2. Most of the FRG and GDR educational media suggest that knowledge of the past should help students to understand the present and to orientate themselves in the modern world – ‘ancient history’ might have been considered less useful for explaining present realities than ‘non-ancient history’.
3. Applies to the GDR schoolbooks and curricula only: The GDR legitimised itself on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the associated model of historical progress – it regarded itself as the ‘better’ and more ‘rightful’ German state on the basis of this ideology. It can, therefore, be argued that the state did not rely on or require ‘ancient’ Germanic roots to legitimise its existence or enhance its feeling of self-worth.
4. As a result of the obscene abuse of the past during the Third Reich, many of the books and curricula portray history as fact – for example, some of the Bavarian educational media suggest that the subject should be taught in a matter-of-fact style and that people need to be cautious in interpreting historical sources. It can, therefore, be argued that preference was given to the better documented periods in German history – especially considering that Germanic prehistory had played a key role in justifying the Nazi ideology.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that most of the educational media (with a few exceptions) incorporate the same or similar ‘ancient’ periods in the historical narratives – they do not, however, place the same weight on each of these periods. The Greek and the Roman period feature particularly prominently in the FRG schoolbooks and curricula. This bias towards Classical history fits in with the aim to foster a sense of European/Western identity based on shared cultural, political and religious roots and values. The GDR educational media, on the other hand, place more emphasis on prehistory, the ‘ACE’ and – similar to the FRG books and curricula – the ‘Roman period/Contemporary Late Iron Age’. This can be explained by the fact that all three periods represent key stages in the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress – primordial society in prehistory, the emergence of class-societies in the Middle East and slave-holding society and their contacts with primordial societies in Roman/Germanic history.

Additionally, it was observed that the selection of topics differs considerably between the FRG and the GDR educational media: the GDR books focus largely on socio-economic history, on issues related to class-struggle, means of production, the division of labour and the distribution of wealth. The FRG books, on the other hand, tend to concentrate more on ‘cultural-’ (including religious), political- and military history (the latter is especially true for the early Bavarian editions). These differences are very much in line with prevalent notions of public historical consciousness and general trends in FRG and GDR historiography.

6.1.1.2. ‘National history’

History education in both the FRG and in the GDR was/is mostly concerned with the ‘national past’. However, the analysis showed that slightly more topics were categorised as ‘national history’ in the GDR and in the most recent FRG curricula than in the early Bavarian editions. This may be explained by the fact that the relationship with the national past (especially with the most recent past) was especially uneasy and troubled in the early years of FRG history.

More detailed analysis of the data revealed some subtle differences between the FRG and GDR curricula:

1. A relatively large number of ‘national’ topics in the FRG curricula are devoted to local history; a subject which does not feature at all in the GDR curricula. This can be explained by the fact that the GDR schoolbooks were centrally produced and were used across the whole of the GDR, whereas the FRG books are specifically designed for particular provinces. Furthermore, unlike the GDR, the FRG is a federal state which encourages regional affiliations.
2. A larger number of ‘national’ topics in the FRG curricula were categorised as ‘German and European history’ than in their GDR counterparts. This can be seen as a manifestation of European integration and a reflection of the government’s ambition to foster a sense of European identity.

3. Generally more ‘national’ topics are devoted to ‘German history’ in the GDR than in the FRG curricula. This is possibly the result of the easier, ‘guilt-free’ approach to the national past adopted by the GDR leadership. It could also be seen as a manifestation of the SED’s attempt to claim the ‘national past’ (either the whole of the German past or selected aspects of it) in order to legitimise itself in the presence of the larger and more affluent FRG.

Finally, it is worth noting that ‘European history’ represents the most prominent ‘non-national’ category in all of the curricula.

6.1.1.3. ‘Ancient history’ and the ‘national narrative’

The analysis showed that ‘ancient history’ largely covers ‘non-national’ topics, whereas ‘non-ancient history’ is predominantly concerned with the ‘national past’. The key components of both the FRG and the GDR ‘national’ narratives are the ‘Early Modern’, the ‘Modern’ and, especially, the ‘Migration/Medieval’ period. Some ‘Prehistoric’ and ‘Roman /contemporary late Iron Age’ topics also deal with ‘national history’ but tend to be presented as the introduction/the ‘run-up’ to German history rather than as national history proper. In other words, in both the FRG and the GDR books the ‘national narratives’ are tied to the German state; they focus on those periods in which a German state existed.

This has interesting implications for the structure of history education: in the GDR and the pre-1990 Bavarian editions, ‘national history’ represents the ‘red thread’ which is followed through time. The situation is reversed for ‘ancient history’ – here it is European, and to a lesser extent, ‘world’ history which represents the backbone of the historical narrative. The migration period usually represents the turning point (this is particularly clear in the Bavarian schoolbooks) – the geographical focus shifts from the Mediterranean to northern Europe. The most recent FRG books adopt a slightly different approach – Europe remains the focus of the historical narrative from ‘ancient times’ up to modern history; German history features as an integral part of an

essentially European historical narrative (this is not particularly visible in the quantitative data as all of the general topics on Europe were categorised as ‘German and European’ and, hence, as ‘national’ history on the basis that Germany is part of Europe).

6.1.2. General ideas about the course of history and the construction of meaningful historical narratives

6.1.2.1. Historical dynamics and the construction of meaningful narratives

The FRG and GDR schoolbooks communicate very different ideas about the general course of history; the ways in which information is ‘pieced together’ in order to form meaningful historical narratives varies considerably between the two political systems:

FRG (Bavaria and post-1990 Saxony)

According to the FRG schoolbooks, certain practices, skills, characteristics and traditions are passed on from one ‘people’, period and/or culture to another. The ‘heirs’ of this heritage then modify and add to that of their ancestors and, in time, pass it on to the next culture, period and/or ‘Volk’. History is thus portrayed as a chain of different peoples – one ‘*Volk*’ creates the preconditions for the existence of another; one event triggers the next. In order to construct a coherent ‘flow’ and to create a meaningful narrative, the books concentrate on those events, periods and peoples which are considered especially significant to present realities (and, by extension, neglect other periods and/or aspects of cultures which do not fit into the historical narrative). The FRG books do not offer a clear framework or aim of where historical progress is heading – apart from a general notion that things get better or more sophisticated over time, the end-result or outcome of historical development is largely left open. At the same time historical development is not portrayed as something totally random, unpredictable or out of control – the present is bound to and shaped by the past; the past dictates or, at least, heavily influences what is happening in the present. Consequently,

it is the actions of the people in the present (who are influenced by the past) which shape the future.

What does this mean for the presentation of the ‘ancient past’, and how are meaningful historical narratives constructed out of the different ‘building-blocks’ of ‘ancient history’? Despite minor variations, the FRG schoolbooks adhere to a basic chronological sequence which starts with the earliest event and ends with the most recent past. The books do not, however, trace the history of a particular place through time. Instead, they ‘skip’ from one area to another. To give an example: most of the textbooks devote a chapter to Classical Greece but instead of placing the section into its geographical and temporal context (and teaching students about Greek prehistory or medieval Greece), the chapter is fitted in between sections on the Ancient Orient and the Roman Empire. In other words, the schoolbooks only deal with certain periods in Oriental, Greek, Roman etc. history which are then moulded together to create a story with meaning and purpose – the Greeks learned and ‘took over’ from ‘Oriental’ cultures, the Roman Empire was influenced by and directly proceeded the Greeks etc..

To elaborate, most of the FRG schoolbooks adhere to the following sequence of events:

1. The later Bavarian and Saxon books start with a general section on prehistory.
2. They then move on to the ‘ACE’. The early Bavarian editions (B1 to B3) start with a chapter on the ‘ACE’.
3. All the books then discuss ‘Ancient Greece’ and, in most cases, the Age of Hellenism in some detail.
4. This is followed by a chapter(s) on the Romans.
5. The books then interrupt the chronological sequence followed so far and cover Germanic prehistory.
6. In most of the books the next chapter/section is devoted to the Migration Period and its aftermath. The textbooks portray the Migration Period as the beginning of a new era in both the history of Europe/the Occident and, to a much lesser extent, in other areas of the world.
7. The final sections on the ‘ancient past’ are usually devoted to the history of the Frank Empire and the emergence of the German Reich.

As discussed above, 'national history' is not directly dealt with in much detail in relation to the 'ancient past' in any of the FRG books. Yet, the way the historical narratives are structured suggests that the nation/'German' history is a concern and a focal point of the textbooks. To elaborate: the books create an artificial chain of events which supposedly leads to the emergence of German history – they select certain periods from different areas of the world and incorporate them into a historical narrative which starts with the beginning of time and leads up to the foundation of the German state.

This approach to the past has its roots in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Bahrani 1998: 163; Larsen 1989: 229-39; Larsen 1996: 12-30; Marchand 1996: 116-227; Trigger 1989: 110-205), a time of flourishing nationalism and imperialism when Europeans were eager to prove and justify their superiority and power over one another as well as over large areas of the world. It was important for the imperial powers to ensure that their position in the world as well as their view of themselves could not be challenged on grounds of cultural inferiority or a lack of a 'rich' and/or suitable national past. This raised the question of how Europeans could justify their colonial ambitions (whether realised or not) and their sense of cultural superiority over the people of the Middle East, for example, when key elements of their own culture had originated in the 'Orient' (such as Christianity, urbanism, writing etc.). Furthermore, how could the Germans claim to be culturally superior to anyone when it was the 'primitive' Germanic tribes who had contributed to/brought about the fall of the Roman civilisation? The 'torch of civilisation-' model offered a way out of this dilemma – the idea is simple: the 'torch of civilisation' originated in western Asia; from there it was passed on to the Egyptians, who then gave it to the Greeks and the Romans who eventually handed it over to the 'western civilisation' (which is still in possession of it). In other words, the model is a way of explaining and justifying why Western Europeans, and not modern Iraqis, Egyptians, Greeks etc., are the heirs of 'ancient' achievements in the Middle East, northern Africa and the Mediterranean – the ancient Egyptians, Greeks etc. left their heritage not to their own people but passed it on to the next great civilisation (Bahrani 1998:163; Larsen 1989: 232).

Whereas the FRG schoolbooks adhere to the same basic structure of this model, it is important to stress the fact that it is not their intention to prove and/or legitimise a sense

of German superiority over other peoples or nations. Furthermore, the books do not tend to portray the German nation as the only heir to the 'torch of civilisation' and, by extension, do not generally deny other cultures' claims to this heritage. Instead, the textbooks explain how the 'ancient past' influenced German history; they claim rights to – but not sole ownership of – the great achievements of the 'ancient past'. According to the FRG schoolbooks the 'torch of civilisation' was 'inherited' by the whole of Western Europe/the Occident as well as (and this is less pronounced in most of the books) by the Byzantine Empire and/or the Arab Caliph system.

The GDR

In many ways the GDR books are similar to their FRG counterparts: they, too, focus on a number of selected periods/cultures from areas all over and world (mainly from Europe and the Middle East) and mould them into a chronological historical narrative. The GDR books do, however, exhibit fundamentally different ideas about historical dynamics: human societies are thought to pass through a number of pre-defined evolutionary stages which eventually lead to the establishment of socialism/communism. Historical development is seen to be subject to universal laws and progress is generally understood to be driven by class-struggle, technological innovations and changes in the means of production. Most books use a number of examples to explain and illustrate the nature of these different stages and of the historical forces at work. Interestingly, the examples used are generally the same as in the FRG books – in the most general sense these (there are some exceptions) include: prehistory, the 'ACE', the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Byzantine and the Frank Empires and the German Reich. In other words, the GDR books largely adhere to the same 'torch of civilisation'-structure as their FRG counterparts but adapt it, interpret and present the information in a way which fits in the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress.

Based on this, it is suggested that 'national history' is taught in relation to the 'ancient past' for two main reasons: first, it is used as a case-study to characterise the nature of certain stages in the historical model – for instance, the break-up of primordial society

and the emergence of feudalism. Second, a socialist interpretation of German history is necessary for explaining the division of country in the present and, by extension, for legitimising the existence of the GDR and its political ideology. ‘Non-national history’, on the other hand, is needed in order to illustrate the universal nature of the historical laws and to compare and contrast how these laws manifest themselves in different contexts.

6.1.3. Interpretations of the past – the intended functions of historical narratives

The analysis of schoolbooks and curricula does not tell us how their content is perceived by students and what impact they have on society. It is, however, possible to gain an understanding of the functions public historical narratives are *intended* to fulfil by looking at the ways in which information is interpreted and presented. To elaborate with reference to the theoretical framework (see chapter one):

6.1.3.1. Explanation and guidance

Explanation and guidance is considered an important function of history education in both the FRG and the GDR – in almost all of the educational media it is argued that knowledge of the past helps students to understand the present, to find their place in the modern world order and to formulate aims for the future. Furthermore, both the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks communicate certain values, provide role-models and give examples of good and bad behaviour and practices. The content of these messages and the framework for orientation, however, vary significantly between the FRG and the GDR educational media – in summary:

- **FRG schoolbooks and curricula:** Much in accordance with the prevalent political ideology and historical consciousness, the FRG educational media promote Christian (this is especially true for the Bavarian textbooks) and democratic values as well as German integration into the

Western/European/Occidental world order. By extension, totalitarian regimes (Oriental ‘despots’ and ‘selfish’ Roman emperors are frequently used examples) and wars are portrayed as extremely negative and damaging.

- **GDR schoolbooks and curricula:** The GDR schoolbooks adopt a more systematic approach based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology – the modern world is seen as being deeply divided between socialist/progressive and imperialist/reactionary forces; history demonstrates how this situation has arisen (over thousands of years) and offers behavioural guidance as well as a comprehensive moral framework – the books very clearly communicate socialist values. Again, this is very much in tune with the public historical consciousness and political ideology of the GDR leadership.

6.1.2.2. Definition and Characterisation

‘In-groups’

Both the FRG and the GDR books are concerned with the origins of a range of different ‘groups’ which are, in turn, linked to different facets of identity – all of the textbooks very much promote multi-faceted identities. The following summarises how this is related to different components of the ‘ancient’ historical narrative:

1. ‘Non-national history’

The analysis showed that ‘ancient’ historical narratives are primarily concerned with ‘non-national history’ – these ‘non-national’ historical narratives fulfil two main functions:

- **Characterisation of and socialisation into the ‘non-German’ facets of identity:** In the FRG books the ‘ancient past’ is largely/partly covered in order to explain and characterise the emergence of the ‘Occident’/‘Europe’ and the Christian church (this is more pronounced in

the Bavarian than in the Saxon schoolbooks) – students become familiar with and, as such, are drawn into the Occidental/European and the Christian ‘in-groups’. In the GDR books, on the other hand, ‘ancient history’ is interpreted and presented in a way which encourages the development of a socialist sense of identity; students are portrayed as the heirs of the progressive traditions in history and are thus socialised into the socialist world system (proletarian internationalism).

- **‘Ideological/Cultural myths of descent’:** Both the FRG and the GDR books draw continuities between the ‘non-national ancient past’ and modern life in Germany. For example, the FRG books very much stress the influence of Classical cultural heritage, Greek democracy and the Roman judicial system on present realities. The GDR books, too, focus on the cultural legacy of the past (especially) on technological achievements – and explain how these have affected the course of history and, by extension, modern forms of socio-economic and political organisation.

2. ‘National history’

In almost all of the FRG and GDR books German history is very much linked to the state; the schoolbooks stress the fact that German history starts with the foundation of the German Reich and that the German ‘*Volk*’ emerges after the political unification of the country. At the same time, most of the books suggest that these political ties were reinforced by a common culture, religion (mainly in the Bavarian books) and language shared by the inhabitants of the Reich, by the German ‘*Volk*’. The Germanic tribes and Frank history are usually portrayed as cultural, ethnic and/or political ancestors/predecessors.

In none of the books is the ‘ancient German past’ portrayed as a particularly glorious age or as being superior to the history of other places or peoples – in fact, it is often viewed in a quite critical light (the FRG and the GDR books focus on different reasons – see above). This fits in well with the prevalent

notions of historical consciousness: both FRG and GDR historiography made a conscious effort to break away from the historical narratives produced in the Nazi period which very openly propagated German ethnic and racial superiority.

'Out-groups' – the 'Other'

Generally, the 'Other' does not represent a very prominent theme in the schoolbooks. In the FRG books the 'Other' is usually and inexplicitly defined as 'non-European', Oriental and despotic. In the GDR books, on the other hand, the 'Other' is very much portrayed as the class-enemy, as the reactionary and oppressive forces in history. This reflects the political and ideological divide of the country.

6.1.2.3. Legitimisation, Validation and Justification

Both the FRG and the GDR books use the 'ancient past' to justify and legitimise their respective political ideologies, value systems and alliances. In other words, in most cases 'ancient history' is used in an 'affirmative manner'. To elaborate:

FRG (Bavaria and post-unification Saxony)

There are some differences in the ways in which the 'ancient past' is used to legitimise modern practices, identities and allegiances between the earlier and the most recent FRG books:

- **The concept of the Occident in the early Bavarian schoolbooks:** The early Bavarian books are very much concerned with the emergence of the Occident – they portray the Occident (read: Western Europe) more or less as a cultural entity which shares the same roots, the same religion, morals, values and cultures. The books tend to characterise the Occident as 'free' and democratic – especially in comparison to the despotic East. Such an approach to the past very

much matches the policy of Western integration and anti-communism during the Cold War – the modern division between Eastern, ‘totalitarian’ and Western, ‘free’ Europe is shown to have its origins in the ‘ancient past’ and, as such, not only explains the modern situation but also justifies political decisions and the concept of ‘freedom before unity’.

- **Europe as a leitmotif in the most recent FRG textbooks:** In the later FRG books (especially the post-1990 editions) the concept of the ‘Occident’ is exchanged for a focus on ‘Europe’ – although the terms are different, the principles, value systems and characteristics remain largely the same: Europe is described more or less as an entity based on the same cultural and political roots in the ‘ancient past’ – which justifies and supports the drive for European integration and the development of European identities. It is, however, important to note that the concept of ‘Europe’ is, at least in theory, less restricted to the Western half of the continent than the concept of the ‘Occident’; possibly a reflection of the post-Cold War climate and the drive towards a European Union which incorporates Eastern European countries.

GDR

The GDR schoolbooks are based on the Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress – they place much emphasis on demonstrating the ‘evilness’ of exploitation, oppression and imperialism and strongly encourage solidarity and allegiances with the ‘progressive’ forces in history. The GDR and other modern socialist countries are portrayed as the result of people’s struggle for justice and liberty – they are seen as the ‘good’ and more advanced forces in history. In short, the existence of the GDR and socialism is legitimised on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and value-system. This approach to and interpretation of history very much matches the public historical consciousness in the GDR as discussed in chapter two. It is, however, worth noting that the changes that took place in the official position towards the German nation and national history over the years are hardly visible in the ‘ancient’ historical narratives.

6.1.2.4. *Stabilisation and support*

As outlined in the theoretical framework (chapter one), stabilisation and support may arise from three different factors:

- **Common roots:** Both the FRG and the GDR textbooks are concerned with the origins and the history of a range of ‘groups’ which are linked to different facets of identity: almost all of textbooks deal with the origins of the German state and the German ‘*Volk*’ and thus foster a sense of German identity. In addition, most of the Bavarian books promote a local sense of identity – they cover the emergence of the Bavarian people as well as early Bavarian history. Furthermore, all of the books are concerned with the ‘ancient’ roots of present beliefs, practices and conditions – the FRG textbooks focus on the origins of the Occident/Europe, the ‘Western’ and Christian value-system (the latter is particularly true for the Bavarian schoolbooks), ideology and culture. The GDR books, on the other hand, portray the ‘progressive forces’ in history as the ideological and class ancestors and trace back their history in time.
- **Sense of continuity which combats fears of the future:** This is more pronounced in the GDR books than in their Bavarian counterparts – because the GDR textbooks adopt a very systematic and deterministic view of history, they portray a sense of security and comfort: all will turn out well – present suffering and pain will be paid off in the end. Even if people do not benefit personally they should take comfort in the fact that their struggle paves the way for a better future. The FRG books, on the other hand, are not as clear about future developments and connections between the past, the present and the future – many of them do, however, imply or specify that students are to a greater or lesser extent the masters of their own destiny – the past shapes the present and the people’s actions in the present therefore influence the future.

- **Fraternity:** As discussed above – the books focus on the origins and the history of a number of ‘groups’; they foster affiliations between the members of different ‘groups’ and, as such, promote a multi-faceted sense of identity.

6.2. National Identity

The majority of the FRG curricula do not explicitly specify that history education should be used to foster the students' sense of national identity. Most of them do, however, suggest that it should contribute to the pupils' political education and, therefore, inform their sense of citizenship. The situation is different in the GDR curricula – history education is considered an important tool in the construction of a democratic (in the case of the 1947 edition) or, specifically, a socialist- and GDR- sense of national identity.

The analysis of the historical narratives showed that both the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks promote a multi-faceted sense of identity – to elaborate:

- The Bavarian books foster a German national identity which is closely linked to a sense of Occidental/European, local and Christian identity.
- The Saxon books are very similar to their Bavarian counterparts and encourage the development of a national identity which incorporates affiliations with Europe.
- The GDR schoolbooks propagate a socialist German identity; a national identity largely based on class and 'ideological descent'.

The following observations were made with regard to the different 'building-blocks' of national identity:

1. The ethnic 'building-block':

The ethnic 'building-block' is not very pronounced in the historical narratives – none of the books place great emphasis on blood lineage and descent. The concept is, however, implicit in most of the books: for example, the Germanic tribes are commonly referred to as the ancestors of modern Germans. None of the books, however, explain what exactly is meant by this or draw much attention to the fact. Interestingly, the GDR schoolbooks use the term 'German

Volk’ more liberally than their West German counterparts. This might be the result of the ‘guilt-free’ approach to the past; people in the West were more wary of using the term after its being abused so heavily in the Third Reich.

Considering the fact that both the FRG and the pre-1980s GDR largely adhered to ethnic definitions of citizenship, it seems surprising that the ‘ethnic building-block’ of national identity is not more pronounced in the schoolbooks. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the change in orientation and the adoption of a more class-orientated/civil notion of public national identity in the GDR in the late 1970s does not seem to have significantly affected the ‘content’ of the historical narratives about the ‘ancient past’. When interpreting this absence/neglect of ‘ethnic’ factors in the textbook, it is important to bear in mind that the ‘ancient past’ is not primarily taught in conjunction with ‘national history’ – in other words, ‘ethnic’ factors might play a more significant role in the later parts of the historical narratives which tend to deal more directly and extensively with German history. It would, for instance, be interesting to explore how the ‘German question’ in post-war German history is dealt with in the textbooks. In short, all we can learn from the historical narratives about the ‘ancient past’ is that the German *Volk* is believed to have loose ‘ethnic’ roots in ‘ancient history’ and that this is not seen/suggested to be a source of German self-confidence and/or superiority in the present; it is simply taken as an accepted and unquestioned fact.

2. The civic ‘building-block’:

In both the FRG and the GDR books the historical narratives are intended to contribute to the students’ political education, their understanding of citizenship and, by extension, their ‘civic’ sense of national identity. The ‘civic’ values communicated in the textbooks, however, vary greatly between the two sets of books: ‘democracy’ and freedom in the FRG and ‘socialism’ in the GDR. Furthermore, most of the FRG and the GDR textbooks place great emphasis on the role of the state in forging a German group-identity in the early medieval

period (note: this is evaluated differently in the two sets of books – see Question II.2.4. and II.2.5.).

There are three main reasons for this emphasis on the civic ‘building-block’ of national identity. First, in both states the civic element represented an important factor in public notions of national identity. Second, civic identity is very closely related to citizenship which, in turn, is very much influenced by prevalent forms of political ideology. As we have seen, the ‘content’ of historical narratives is hugely shaped by political ideologies and value-systems – it is, thus, not surprising that ‘civic’ factors feature especially prominently. Third, it can be argued that civic (and cultural) values can be more easily communicated/made relevant to German national identities in the present by using examples from ‘non-national history’ (‘ancient history’ mainly deals with ‘non-national-history’, see Question II.1.3.) than ethnic roots and affiliations.

3. The cultural ‘building-block’:

The cultural ‘building-block’ features prominently in most of the textbooks – for example, group-affiliations are often portrayed as being based on/ strengthened by a shared culture (for instance, this applies to German identity in the early medieval period). Furthermore, a very significant role is ascribed to the cultural ‘building-block’ in fostering a sense of Occidental/European identity in the FRG schoolbooks. In addition, it is worth noting that in many books cultural factors are especially important in making the ‘ancient past’ relevant to the present – in claiming rights to ‘non-national ancient history’ (‘ideological’ or, better, ‘cultural myths of descent’).

6.3. History education as a ‘socialisation agent’: the communication of public historical narratives to the private sphere

History education is considered an important ‘socialisation agent’ in both the FRG and GDR – all of the historical narratives about the ‘ancient past’ communicate clear messages and values, promote the development of certain identities and are intended to fulfil key functions in society. In short, history education is meant to help students orientate themselves in time, define their place in the modern world and to plan successfully for the future. The suggested outcome of these socialisation and orientation processes varies considerably between the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks and curricula. The GDR educational media are based on the all-encompassing Marxist-Leninist ideology – as such they adhere to a very clearly defined understanding of historical processes and establish precisely how the three temporal dimensions are connected, which actions are required of people in the present and what they should plan for the future. The FRG books adopt a less systematic and deterministic approach – many of them more or less explicitly suggest that the past influences the present and that, in turn, present actions will determine what is happening in the future. In short, whereas students in the GDR are socialised into a very systematic, idealistic and, therefore, future-driven ideology; pupils in the FRG are socialised into a loose value system – because there is no utopia the aims for the future are less tangible and clearly defined.

Furthermore, although issues relating to didactics are not explored in any detail in this thesis, it is important to gain a basic understanding of how the ‘content’ of history education is communicated to students (to the ‘private sphere’). How far are interpretations, evaluations, morals and values etc. prescribed? How open are they to criticism? How much room for debate and critical thought is there?

Both the early Bavarian and the GDR schoolbooks project a ‘closed’ view of history: the historical narratives (and associated values and messages) as presented in the books are not to be questioned. History is largely portrayed as hard-fact and students are generally encouraged to accept what they are taught and to trust in ‘*Wissenschaft*’

(‘science’). It is, however, important to note that most of the GDR books are more animated and explicit in their value judgements than their Bavarian counterparts – they often use very strong and emotive language, whereas many of the Bavarian schoolbooks tend to be written in a ‘pseudo-objective’ matter-of-fact-style. This very much matches general trends in FRG and GDR historiography as outlined in chapter two.

The most recent Bavarian and Saxon editions differ from the earlier schoolbooks – they place great emphasis on critical thought and historical skills. Furthermore, most of the books explain that historiography is not hard-science, that it requires a great deal of interpretation and that there is never only one version of the past. This change in approach reflects the notion that critical thought represents an essential feature of democratic societies, that students need to be able to think for themselves if they wish to effectively participate in the political life of a democratic state – a realisation which could possibly be seen as a belated reaction to the wider political movements that took place in West Germany from the late 1960s onwards. It is important to note that the fundamental and underlying value-system itself (‘free’, pluralistic democracy) is not questioned – on the contrary, the way in which history is taught is meant to support and strengthen the prevalent political ideology and public sense of national identity and citizenship.

Part Three: The Private Sphere

Chapter 7

Introduction to the Interviews

7.1. Aims, objectives and research questions

This part of the thesis is concerned with the private sphere – the aim is to gain a better understanding of whether (and if so how) people’s sense of national identity is informed by their knowledge and perception of history in general and of the ‘ancient past’ in particular. Ultimately the goal is to establish similarities and differences in the processes behind the formation of public and private national identities and in the role/function that is ascribed to/is fulfilled by ‘ancient history’ in defining these identities. Furthermore, the aim is to explore the relationship between the public and the private sphere – to what extent do public historical narratives as presented in educational media affect/inform (former) students’ feelings of identity and their notions of historical consciousness? How lasting are these effects?

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of these issues, several different but closely connected research areas are explored:

1. Do former ‘Middle School’ students have a sense of national identity? If so, how does it relate to other forms of social and territorial identity? Which ‘building-blocks’ (ethnic, civic and cultural) is it based on?
2. What is the nature of former ‘Middle School’ students’ historical consciousness? What functions is the past (especially the ‘ancient past’) believed to fulfil in the present? How are the three temporal dimensions (past, present, future) connected? How much do people know about history (especially about the ‘ancient past’) and how do they feel about it?
3. How do former ‘Middle School’ students feel about their history education?

4. Where did former 'Middle School' students learn about the past (especially about 'ancient history')? What are the main sources of their knowledge and how important is history education?
5. Do former 'Middle School' students believe history to be fact or do they have a more open, critical view of the production and presentation of historical information?

Overall, do the answers to these questions differ between the interviewees from Bavaria and the respondents from Saxony as well as between two different age groups (people born before and after 1970) – if so, what are the differences?

7.2. Brief literature review

A large number of empirical studies, based on both interviews and surveys, are concerned with issues directly relevant to this part of the thesis. These can roughly be split into four main groups:

7.2.1. Studies on national identity

There is much debate about how to best ‘measure’ private national identities – methods largely depend on the academic background of the researchers and their definition of national identity. The following areas have been looked at:

- **Response to national symbols:** Bornewasser 1995; Forsthofer and Martini 1992; Forsthofer et al. 1995; Gallenmüller and Wakenhut 1992; Gallenmüller and Wakenhut 1994; Mummendy 1992; Wakenhut 1995.
- **National pride:** Blank and Schmidt 1994; Blank and Schmidt 1997.
- **National identities in the context of social identity, ‘Systemakzeptanz’ or European identity:** Amman 2002; Bostock and Smith 2001; Bürklin 1989; Cinnirella 1997; Csepli 1989; Luthanen and Crocker 1992; Lilli and Diehl 1999; Meier-Dallach, Ritschard and Nef 1990; Mummendey, Mielke, Wenzel and Kanning 1994.
- **Previous research – surveys and interviews published by a range of different bodies and scholars:** Mendelsohn 2002; Westle 1999.

7.2.2. Historical consciousness

In the 1990s a series of empirical studies were published on private historical consciousness. Most of these were carried out in the field of history didactics and were concerned with (the development of) historical consciousness of school children mainly in Germany and other European countries. These studies were either based on surveys (mainly) or on interviews. For example see: von Borries 1988, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998 (a. and b.), 1999, 2002; von Borries and Lehmann 1991; el Darwich 1991; Pandel

1991; Rüsen et al. 1991. A slightly different approach was taken by Lutz who focused on the historical consciousness of West (and to a lesser degree of East) German adults. Lutz used both quantitative as well as qualitative methods of investigation (Lutz 2000).

7.2.3. History education

Several studies are concerned with history education in the widest sense:

- **Surveys on the use of (and feelings towards) history schoolbooks:** Baumann 1970; Herzberg 1994.
- **Studies on the impact of history education on pupils:** Klose 1993, Jeismann and Geißler (see Mirow 1991), Beck and McKeown (1994) and Büsching (2004). Also see studies mentioned in section 7.2.2..
- **Studies involving history teachers, their priorities and goals:** see von Borries (1988) for details.
- **Studies on sources of historical knowledge (other than history education):** Lehman and Mirow 1991; Mirow 1991.

7.2.4. Historical Knowledge

Two studies are particularly relevant: first, Csepeli (1989) was interested in the degree to which people (Hungarians) are familiar with their national past and examined how this is linked to feelings of national identity. Second, Mirow investigated the level of historical knowledge amongst school children in order to determine the effects of history education (Mirow 1991).

7.3. Methodology and ‘Operationalisation’

7.3.1. The sample

The interviews conducted as part of this thesis are not based on a representative sample of former ‘Middle School’ students from Bavaria and the area that is now Saxony. There are two main reasons for this: first, the German data protection laws make it impossible to randomly select interviewees. Neither cultural ministries nor schools in Bavaria or Saxony were able to disclose any details of former students and attempts to persuade the schools and the cultural ministries to pass on letters to potential interviewees were rejected on similar grounds. Second, even if it had been legally possible, the limited resources (time and funding) available would have made it extremely difficult to interview the requisite number of people.

Considering the circumstances, ‘snow-balling’ was considered the most appropriate sampling strategy for this study. The principal is simple: a small number of ‘first contacts’ are established, who then suggest further potential interview partners, who will in turn suggest others and so forth (Nardi 2003: 108-9; Taschakkorie and Teddlie 1998: 76). The advantage of this technique is that people are more likely to agree to an interview – they tend to feel more comfortable when they are assured by someone they know (who has already participated in the study) about the interviewer and the interview process. This was extremely helpful in this particular study. People generally did not feel comfortable talking about their history education; many initially feared that they would be tested and that they would appear unintelligent. Furthermore, respondents were asked to devote a significant amount of time to the interview, between one and a half and four hours, which they might have been reluctant to do if approached in the street or via a letter.

The disadvantage of snowballing is that the sample is not ‘random’ and as such is not representative of the whole population (Nardi 2003: 106-9): the interviewees tend to come from the same circle of friends/acquaintances and have similar backgrounds. This problem was partly overcome by choosing several independent ‘first contacts’ – four in Bavaria (one in Marktoberdorf, one in central Munich and two from around the greater Munich area) and six in Saxony (four in Leipzig and two in Dresden). It is, however,

important to note that not all contacts led to an equal number of follow-up interviews; two contacts proved to be particularly ‘successful’ (Marktobendorf and one in Leipzig). Furthermore, it should be noted that the interviews in Saxony are biased towards people living in cities, whereas the majority of the Bavarian interviewees live in rural areas.

In total 62 people were interviewed (32 Bavarians and 30 Saxons); all of the interviewees met the following criteria:

- They attended any form of ‘Middle School’. Note: some of the interviewees went on to higher and further education after this. This is not seen to be a major problem as everybody’s knowledge and view of the past changes and develops over time and is influenced by a range of different sources (people’s knowledge of the past is not static or ‘frozen’; it changes and develops over time as people forget old and acquire new information).
- They were born between 1940 and 1990. Note: I interviewed a minimum of 5 people (10 at the most) from each generation (here defined in terms of the decade in which people were born) from each area.
- They hold German citizenship.

Other factors such as social class, gender, religion and political preferences did not represent sampling criteria and are not considered in this study.

Figure 9: Interview Sample – Regions and Age Groups

		Age Groups					Total
		1980s	1970s	1960s	1950s	1940s	
Region	Bavaria	10	5	5	7	5	32
	Saxony	6	7	5	6	6	30
Total		16	12	10	13	11	62

7.3.2. Methodology: introduction

Choosing a suitable and appropriate methodology for ‘capturing’ national identity and historical consciousness is not a straightforward task. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have advantages and disadvantages: quantitative methods (surveys based on closed questions and answers) easily lead to skewed or false results. For example, people might be too restricted in their answers: their answers may not reflect the way they really feel or cater for the level of complexity of that feeling (Csepeli 1989: 5-67; Lutz 2000: 10). This problem is less likely to occur in open interviews where interviewees are only minimally directed and/or influenced in their answers. However, open questions and largely unstructured interviews can be problematic for different reasons: for instance, people may choose to talk about subjects that are not relevant to the research project and comparisons between interviews are very difficult. Quantitative results, on the other hand, are easier to compare but require larger sample sizes in order for the statistical significance tests to work (Nardi 2003: 57-95, Scholl 2003, Atteslander 2000: 114-181, Mason 2002; Boynton and Greenhalgh 2004: 1312-15; Boynton 2004: 1372-1436).

Bearing these issues in mind, I originally decided on qualitative, open interviews – mainly based on the fact that I would require a smaller sample size as well as on the notion that issues such as national identity and historical consciousness are too complex to be explored by means of standardised interview questions and closed answers (this is supported by Csepeli 1989: 5-67 and Lutz 2000: 10).

On this basis a small pilot study was conducted. Ten people were interviewed in a loosely structured, open conversation. The results were far from satisfactory – largely because the interviewees felt lost, unable to talk about topics relating to their national identities and, especially, their perceptions of history. This remained true even when they were probed with more specific questions concerning historical topics. When asked why they experienced such difficulties talking about the past and answering the questions many interviewees suggested that they had never really thought about history and identity in that way before, that they felt they had nothing interesting or worthwhile to say and that they were afraid to appear stupid and ignorant. These responses may be explained by the fact that most of the interviewees had left school at the age of 16 and had not come into contact with history since then – many felt that they did not know anything about history.

Based on these experiences it was decided to adopt a different strategy; to mix quantitative and qualitative methods. In an attempt to set the interviewees' at ease and to animate them to think about the subject, they were presented with a number of pre-defined questions and closed answers from which they could chose. Additionally, it was decided to add a more qualitative part to each question in which the interviewees had the chance to elaborate on their answers and/or criticise/add to the predefined answers. The revised approach was tested in a small pilot study and proved much more successful.

The interviews were mostly conducted in the interviewees' home or, in some cases, in cafes or parks. They lasted between one and a half and four hours. People were interviewed individually – with the exception of two cases where two people were interviewed at the same time (in both cases the interviewees were separated for questions 9 and 16 which depend heavily on associations).

The interviews were not recorded as most people felt very uncomfortable at the thought of being taped when talking about subjects such as national identity (a very contentious issue in Germany) and history (a subject most of them felt they knew nothing about); the analysis is therefore based on the interviewer's notes. It is important to stress that note-taking, no matter how detailed the notes are and how much attention the interviewer pays, is subjective (note: this applies to the qualitative sections only). As such no direct quotes are used in the thesis.

Finally it is important to briefly explain how the interviews were analysed:

1. **Quantitative data:** All quantitative answers were coded and entered into SPSS (see Vol.II.6. and appendix). The analysis relies on three statistical significance tests which explore differences/similarities between Bavarians and Saxons as well as between two main age groups (interviewees born before and after 1970):
 - a. Spearman's Rho correlation which determines "*the magnitude and the direction of the association between two variables*" (www.wellesley.edu/Psychology/Psych205/Spearman.html) and can be

used for the analysis of ordinal data. Spearman's Rho was also used to investigate relationships between nominal and ordinal data in instances where the nominal data did not consist of more than two categories.

- b. The Chi Square test, which *“detects whether there is a significant association between two categorical variables”* (Field 2000: 62);
- c. The t-test which *“compares the means of an interval or ratio variable measured on two samples of objects [...]. It calculates the difference between the means, and the probability that we would obtain a difference this great if the two samples were drawn from the same population”* (Orton unpublished).

According to common practice, all P-values larger than 0.05 were rejected as non-significant (Field 2000: 65). Furthermore, as the sample is not representative, it is important to note that in the context of this thesis 'significant' should actually read 'if the sample was truly random then the results would be significant' (see von Borries and Lehmann 1991:134).

2. **Qualitative data:** In a first step, the answers were grouped together according to their content. In a second step, these groups/clusters of answers were allocated into larger categories – similar to those used in the curriculum and schoolbook analysis (see chapter 4.4. and Vol.II.6.). These categories were then coded and entered into SPSS. Unfortunately, the sample size was too small and the answers too varied to allow statistical significance testing. Instead the results were used to elaborate on, to explain the results of the quantitative analysis. Finally, it is important to stress the subjective nature of the procedure which is depended on the researcher's perception of which statements belong together.

In summary, the interviews carried out in the context of this thesis consisted of a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The results not only offer insights into the identities and the historical consciousness of former 'Middle School' students but they also explore difficult methodological problems – how can we best capture and measure complex issues such as national identity and historical

consciousness? As such the interviews should not be seen as the final view on the subject but rather as a case study on the basis of which further research could be conducted.

7.3.3. The interviews: ‘Operationalisation’

The following outlines the methodological approach chosen for each of the main research questions outlined in 7.1. (see Vol.II.5 and 6. for a full list of interview questions and coded answers):

7.3.3.1. Do former ‘Middle School’ students have a sense of national identity? If so, how does it relate to other forms of social and territorial identity? Which ‘building-blocks’ (ethnic, civic and cultural) is it based on?

It is very difficult to ‘measure’ people’s sense of national identity. Part of the problem is the fact that national identities do not tend to be at the forefront of people’s minds. For example, national sentiments are more likely to manifest themselves and become an issue in provocative situations when people are confronted with insults or prejudices or when they encounter the ‘Other’, the ‘national out-group’ (Csepeli 1989: 56-67). Furthermore, as we have seen in chapter one and two, national identities are not fixed – they are fluid and depend on present conditions, experiences, plans for the future and interpretations of the past. These difficulties in gauging and ‘pinning-down’ national identity are reflected in the large amounts of – often contradictory – literature on how to best approach the subject (both theoretically and methodologically – see 7.2.). The method chosen for this study derived from a combination of techniques developed by other scholars as well as from the theoretical framework outlined in chapter one.

National identities in relation to other forms of identity

First, it was important to determine the role ascribed to national identity in comparison to other forms of group-affiliations. Two questions explore the issue:

- Question 1 establishes the importance ascribed to national affiliations in comparison to other forms of social identity. The interviewees were presented with a range of different forms of group-affiliations (such as social class, faith, nation, etc.) and were asked which three they considered most important.

Note: this question was largely taken from the International Social Survey Program 2003: www.issp.org/Documents/issp2003.pdf, 7/6/2005; similar questions were asked in other studies – for example see von Borries and Lehmann 1991: 179; ‘Youth and History’ 1997: http://www.erzwiss.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte/Youth_and_History/homepage.html).

- Question 2 determines the importance of national-affiliations in comparison to other forms of territorial identities.

Note: This particular question was taken from International Social Survey Program 1995: www.za.uni-koeln.de/data/en/issp/questionnaires/q1995/germany1995.pdf, 7/6/05 but similar approaches were adopted by, for example, the International Social Survey Program 2003: www.issp.org/Documents/issp2003.pdf, 7/6/2005, Harkness and Scholz 2002; Mendelsohn 2002; Meier-Dallach et al. 1990.

Definition of the national ‘in-’ and ‘out-group’

- Question 4 explores how people define the national ‘in-group’. The interviewees were presented with a list of criteria and were asked to rate them according to their perceived importance in defining ‘Germaness’. These criteria were then split into three main groups – indicators for: civic, ethnic and cultural elements of national identity:

	Civic	Ethnic	Cultural
Birth	*	*	

Citizenship	*		
Having lived in Germany	*		
Language			*
Christianity			*
Political institutions and Laws	*		
Descent		*	
Feel German	*		

Figure 10: Question 4 – indicators for civic, ethnic and cultural elements of national identity.

Note: The question, not the categorisation, was largely taken from International Social Survey Program 2003: www.issp.org/Documents/issp2003.pdf, 7/6/2005 and International Social Survey Program 1995: www.za.uni-koeln.de/data/en/issp/questionnaires/q1995/germany1995.pdf, 7/6/05 but similar questions were also asked by Csepeli 1989: 44-5.

In the second part of Question 4 the interviewees had the opportunity to list any other criteria they considered important in defining the German national ‘in-group’.

- Question 5 gave the interviewees the chance to freely articulate/formulate their personal definition of ‘Germaness’.

Note: similar questions can be found on ‘Youth and History’ 1997: http://www.erzwiss.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte/Youth_and_History/homepage.html.

National pride

Question 6 further explores the importance of the different ‘building-blocks’ of national identity. The interviewees were asked to quantify how proud they are of a number of pre-defined civic, ethnic and cultural aspects of life in Germany (see figure 11 below). It is important to note that one should be careful in equating national pride with national

identity (national identity does not necessarily have to be based on affirmative/positive feelings towards national goods) (Blank and Schmidt 1994: 32, Wakenhut 1995: 18, Westle 1999: 177-8) – the results of Question 6 are indicative only and must be interpreted in relation to the other questions on national identity outlined above.

	Ethnic	Civic	Cultural	Other
Democracy		*		
Economy				*
Social System		*		
Science and Technology			*	
Sports			*	
Art, Literature and Music			*	
Army		*		
History				*
Equal Treatment of Social Groups		*		
Mentality	*			
Landscape				*

Figure 11: Question 6 – indicators for civic, ethnic and cultural elements of national identity.

Note: This question is largely based on the work carried out by Blank and Schmidt (Blank and Schmidt 1994, 1997).

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of people's sense of national pride, three additional questions were asked:

1. The interviewees were asked whether they felt proud of elements not included in the list – and, if so, which ones.
2. Question 6.5. explores whether national pride is linked to a sense of superiority over other nations.
3. Question 6.8. explores whether the interviewees feel ashamed of certain elements of 'German life'. This is important as 'shame' reflects an equally strong and emotional relationship/bond with the nation as 'pride'.

Multi-faceted and supra-national identities? National identity and Europe

In order to gain a better understanding the nature of private national identities and to explore how they are linked to the public sphere and to present conditions, it is necessary to investigate how people feel about Europe (at a time when European nation-states are growing increasingly together and are transferring certain decision-making abilities and powers to EU bodies). Two questions address the issue:

- As mentioned above, Question 2 explores how important European affiliations are to people in comparison to German (and other territorial) identities.
- Question 7 investigates how people feel about/define the relationship between Germany and Europe – the interviewees were presented with a number of pre-defined statements about Germany's place in/level of involvement with the EU and were asked to choose the ones they agreed with most. Again, interviewees were encouraged to add any comments if they felt the statements did not adequately reflect their views.

7.3.3.2. What is the nature of former 'Middle School' students' historical consciousness? What functions is the past (especially the 'ancient past') believed to fulfil in the present? How are the three temporal dimensions connected? How much do people know about history (especially about the 'ancient past') and how do they feel about it?

It is very difficult to capture the nature of people's historical consciousness by means of interviews or surveys. This is largely due to the fact that historical consciousness is an ever changing, fluid process which influences and is influenced by different situations, experiences and contexts (von Borries 1998: 433 and 1990a: 15; Rüsen et al. 1991: 295, 343-4). Furthermore, it is impossible to examine historical consciousness independently of 'content', of its expressions and context (whether chosen by the interviewee or pre-defined by the interviewer) (von Borries 1990a: 15).

So how then can private notions of historical consciousness be explored in an empirical research project – especially in relation to ‘ancient’ and, to a lesser degree, ‘national history’? The subject was separated into three individual research questions:

- I. What role is ascribed to the past in people’s lives and their social reality?
- II. How much do people know about their national history and about the ‘ancient past’? To what degree does this knowledge influence the way meaningful narratives (connections between the three temporal dimensions) are constructed?
- III. How do people feel about their ‘national past’ and about ‘ancient’ history? How do they connect the past with the present? Which aspects of the ‘national past’ and ‘ancient history’ are particularly important (meaningful) to them?

I. What role is ascribed to the past in people’s lives and their social reality?

- Question 8 establishes where and to what degree people come into contact with history. This is important in order to determine what role and importance is ascribed to the past in peoples’ lives.
- Question 22 explores how people feel about history in general and what functions they believe the past fulfils in the present/in their personal lives. Furthermore, by learning about people’s attitudes towards the past, it is possible to gain deeper insights into their historical identities and forms of historical legitimisation as identified by von Borries (chapter one) – see the table below:

Pre-defined statements in the interview	I strongly agree/I agree	I am not sure	I disagree/I strongly disagree
a. It is important to study/deal with history because we can learn from the past.	4	0	1
b. History is interesting because it explains the present.	2 and/or 4.	0	1
c. Studying/dealing with history is positive because I am proud of my history and feel good when I look back on German history.	2	0	3 and/or 1
d. Studying/dealing with history is important because by looking at the past we understand better what we should aim for in the future.	4	0	1
e. History is entertaining.	2	0	1
f. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is boring.	1	0	2 and/or 4 (or 3?)
g. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is complicated and difficult to understand.	1	0	2,3 and/or 4
h. I am not interested in history because it is irrelevant to the present.	1	0	2,3, and/or 4
i. I am not interested in history because it is painful and I do not want to think about it.	3	0	1,2 and/or 4

Figure 12: Question 22 – categorisation of answers on the basis of von Borries' different types of historical identity/forms of legitimisation.

1. Minimal use of history; legitimisation without history – history-free historical identity.
 2. Affirmative use of history; legitimisation through history –continuous historical identity.
 3. Destructive use of history; legitimisation against history –negative historical identity.
 4. Reflexive use of history; legitimisation despite of history –balanced historical identity.
- (von Borries 1984: 50-4).

How much do people know about their national history and about the ‘ancient past’? To what degree does knowledge influence the way meaningful narratives (connections between the three temporal dimensions) are constructed?

Knowledge of history potentially has a great impact on the way people define themselves in the present and on their relationship with the past – the level and ‘content’ of people’s knowledge about the past is likely to affect the way they make this information relevant to the present and allow it influence/support them in their daily lives. In the context of this thesis, people’s knowledge of the ‘national past’ and ‘ancient history’ is of particular interest:

The ‘national past’

Insights into people’s knowledge about different periods in German history, helps to establish the importance ascribed to/the role of the ‘ancient past’ in people’s historical consciousness and allows us to determine which periods are particularly relevant to private notions of national identity.

Assessing people’s knowledge of the past is not a straightforward exercise: first, knowledge can only be ‘tested’ by using specific examples – this ‘hit-and-miss’ approach can easily lead to an oversimplified or skewed picture. Second, it is difficult to establish how much, and what, people know about history without creating the impression that interviewees are sitting an exam – something strongly rejected by many adults.

In order to overcome these problems, a more open approach was adopted (Question 9). Interviewees were asked to freely associate keywords with pre-defined periods in German history (note: similar methods were used by Beilner 1994; von Borries 1988: 143-6; von Borries and Lehmann 1991: 133-40). In order to make possible a comparison between different interviewees as well as to trigger thought-processes when respondents could not think of anything, a number of ‘priority’ keywords were chosen, the responses to which were scored as either: (1) *mentioned without prompting*; (2)

familiar with keyword and topic when prompted; (3) familiar only with keyword when prompted; (4) no knowledge when prompted. These priority keywords were chosen on the basis that they are extensively covered in all of the schoolbooks and curricula and should, therefore, (theoretically) be familiar to most people (as von Borries and Lehmann 1991: 132-3 point out, such a selection process is necessarily biased and should be based on well-known periods or events to ensure the most useful possible results).

The level and nature of people's knowledge of history was examined on the basis of three sets of data:

1. The number of keywords associated with different historical periods – do people associate more keywords with some periods than with others?

It is important to note that the number of keywords associated with different periods does not necessarily reflect the level of knowledge. This problem is largely overcome by the fact that the analysis focuses on general trends between different groups and not on individuals.

2. Responses to 'priority keywords'.

Responses to 'priority keywords' were grouped as follows: scores 1 and 2 (*mentioned without prompting; familiar with keyword and topic when prompted*) were taken as indicators for a reasonable level of historical knowledge; scores 3 or 4 (*familiar only with keyword when prompted; no knowledge when prompted*) were interpreted as a lack of concrete knowledge.

3. The nature of the associated keywords (a similar approach was adopted by von Borries 1988: 143-6).

The following questions were addressed: Are the associated keywords simplified and clichéd or do they reflect a deeper understanding of history? Do they contain value judgements? Are they historically correct or false? Because of the large number and great variety of associated keywords, it is not possible to carry out statistical significance tests for this part of the analysis – the results are only indicative and are based on general observations.

The ‘ancient past’

In order to determine the degree to which the ‘ancient past’ features in people’s historical consciousness and in their national identities, as well as to be able to investigate which periods are especially important to the interviewees’, it is necessary to establish how much (and what) people know about ‘ancient history’. This is explored in Question 16. A very similar approach was adopted to that in Question 9 (‘national history’ – see above): the interviewees were asked to freely associate keywords with a number of historical periods/areas. Their responses to these keywords were ‘scored’ as follows:

- Main keyword: 1 – mentioned without prompting,
- Main keyword: 2 – when prompted familiar and can associate things with it,
- Main keyword: 3 – when prompted cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar,
- Main keyword: 4 – when prompted only the term is familiar,
- Main keyword: 5 – when prompted does not know what it is/never heard of it,
- Sub-keyword: 6 – mentioned without prompting,
- Sub-keyword: 7 – mentioned when prompted level 1 (i.e. with the main keyword),
- Sub-keyword: 8 – when prompted familiar,
- Sub-keyword: 9 – when prompted only the term is familiar,
- Sub-keyword: 10 – when prompted not familiar.

As in the case of Question 9, all of the keywords were chosen on the basis that they are covered in most of the school curricula and should, therefore, be familiar to the majority of interviewees.

Furthermore, as in Question 9, people’s knowledge of the past was assessed on the basis of three factors: 1. the number of associated keywords, 2. people’s responses to the ‘main-’ and ‘sub-keywords’ and 3. the nature of the keywords themselves.

How do people feel about their ‘national past’ and about ‘ancient history’? How do they connect the past with the present? Which aspects of the ‘national past’ and ‘ancient history’ are particularly important (meaningful) to them?

1. The ‘national past’

The purpose of this section is to determine how people feel about their ‘national past’ and to gain a better understanding of the extent to which (and how) ‘national history’ is made relevant to the present. Furthermore, it is important to establish which historical periods are especially important to the interviewees and which aspects of the ‘national past’ people feel most strongly about. Several questions address these issues:

Question 11 explores which events, groups and/or historical figures the interviewees consider to be particularly important and influential to the course of German history. The answers to this question were analysed as follows:

- a) Much like the keywords associated in Questions 9 and 16 (‘national’ and ‘ancient history’ – see above), the answers in themselves offer insights into people’s historical identity and their historical consciousness. For example, do people tend to find ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ developments in history more influential – what do they believe drives historical processes?
- b) The answers were grouped according to the ‘type of legacy’ they deal with – for example, political, cultural, economic and social historical topics (see Vol.II.6). This approach offers insights into how people connect the past and the present, and into the relationship between perceptions of ‘national history’ and the different ‘building-blocks’ of national identity. For instance, a focus on ‘cultural history’ as a driving force in history may suggest that the cultural ‘building-block’ of national identity is particularly pronounced among a group interviewees.
- c) Similar to the curriculum topics, the answers were assigned into two sets of categories: historical periods and geographical areas (see 4.4.). This offers insights into the role ascribed to ‘ancient’ and ‘national’ history in people’s

historical consciousness – which periods are considered particularly relevant for the present?

A series of questions explore the extent to which interviewees feel emotionally attached to German history:

- Question 6 examines whether the interviewees feel more or less proud of the German past than of other ‘collective goods’ (such as technology, economy and sport).
- Question 12 asks the interviewees whether they feel proud of German history and, if so, which aspects of the past they consider to be especially positive. The answers were coded in the same way as those in Question 11 (factors people consider to be particularly influential – see above) – this allows comparisons between the two questions: are people proud of the same events/individuals in German history that they consider to be most influential? Furthermore, are people proud of particular ‘aspects’ of the past (such as cultural achievements or the development of democratic institutions, etc.)? If so, how is this linked to people’s sense of national identity?
- Question 13 investigates whether people feel ashamed of certain periods/events/figures in German history and if so which ones. Again, the answers were coded in the same way as those in Question 11 and 12 in order to allow comparisons between the different questions.
- Question 14 asks the interviewees to specify whether they feel mostly proud or ashamed of German history or whether they do not feel particularly strongly either way.
- Question 15 explores the degree to which people feel responsible for German history (the interviewees were asked to choose between four pre-defined statements). The aim of the question is to determine the extent to which people draw continuities between themselves and their ‘ancestors’. The

answers to this question may offer insights into people's feeling of national identity: Westle argues that a strong sense of responsibility for the past and the deeds of 'the ancestors' is indicative of an ethnic understanding of nationalism – the '*Volk*' is seen as a community of fate, a family (Westle 1999: 318).

2. The 'ancient past'

The question of the perceived relevance of the 'ancient past' to modern life (in Germany) poses a number of methodological problems: first, the 'ancient past' as defined in this thesis consists of a very large time-span as well as a huge geographical area. Furthermore, the 'ancient past' is not a common, well defined term with which the interviewees are familiar and comfortable (unlike, for example, the 'Nazi period'). Third, it emerged from the pilot studies that the 'ancient past' is not at the forefront of people's minds, it is not something that people necessarily think about in their daily lives or, in fact, something they know much about. This made it difficult to formulate questions which made sense to the interviewees, or which provoked answers which actually addressed the research question (without being too restrictive and leading) as well as allowed for differentiation between the different aspects and facets of this broad umbrella term (i.e. explores which periods/civilisations, etc. in 'ancient history' are considered particularly influential).

The following questions address the issue:

- Question 18 asks the interviewees to define the degree to which they believe different aspects of life in modern-day Germany to have originated in the 'ancient past'. This offers insights into the way people construct meaningful narratives and connect the 'ancient past' to present conditions. It also investigates the relationship between people's understanding of the 'ancient past' and their national identities – is there a correlation between the different 'building-blocks' of national identity and the areas of life people

believe to have been most affected by the past? The following table summarises the categorisation:

Areas of life in modern-day Germany	Answers: Strongly Agree/Agree
Culture and arts	Cultural element of national identity
Social order	Possibly civic element of national identity
Political order	Civic element of national identity
German state	Civic (and possibly) ethnic element of national identity
Ethnic and national groups	Ethnic element of national identity
The 'ancient past' does not affect the present	Ancient past perceived as irrelevant.

Figure 13: Question 18 – indicators for ethnic, civic and cultural elements of national identity.

The second part of the question asks interviewees to name concrete examples of ancient cultures and civilisations which they believe to be particularly influential and important. Similar to the curriculum topics, the answers were assigned into two sets of categories: historical periods and areas (see Vol.II.6.).

- Question 19 explores how people view/feel about the relationship between 'ancient history' and modern-day Germany. The table below lists the pre-defined statements the interviewees were asked to choose from and elaborates on what each statement might tell us about the perception of the relationship between the 'ancient past' and the present:

Pre-defined Statements	Possible interpretations
a. The ancient German past is more important than the ancient past of other places in explaining the origins of Germany.	Might indicate an ethnic understanding of history in which continuities are drawn between 'ancient German history' and modern-day Germany; only German history can explain present conditions in Germany.
b. It does not make a difference whose ancient history we are studying; history underwent the same developments and processes all over the world.	Might indicate a Marxist view of history - history is subject to universal laws. Could also be interpreted as: not just German history created modern realities, one needs to understand general/wider trends and developments in order to understand the present.
c. In order to understand the very foundations of the development of German history we must study the ancient Greeks and/or the Romans – without the Classical heritage Germany would be very different today.	Could be interpreted as: Germany is part of Europe – as such, the whole of European history is relevant to German history, the two are intertwined. It may also be a way of dealing with Germany's relative 'empty' 'ancient' past: increasing self-esteem, self-worth and legitimisation by incorporating the 'rich past' of other countries into the national history. Connected to this, it could be indicative of a 'torch of civilisation'-interpretation of history. Either – 'the torch is ours now, not anybody else'. Or: the Greeks and the Romans have influenced German history but this does not necessarily mean that modern-day Greeks and Romans are no longer in possession of the 'torch of civilisation', we share it.
d. Neither the ancient German past, nor the ancient past of other places in the world, has anything to do with the present in Germany.	Historical identity not based on the 'ancient past'.
e. I am not in a position to judge this/to tell.	N/a
f. None of the above.	N/a

Figure 14: Question 19 – perceived relationship between the past and the present.

- Question 20 explores how the interviewees deal with the fact that the ‘ancient past’ in ‘Germany’ can be interpreted as relatively unspectacular in comparison to the history of other European countries. Again the interviewees were asked to choose between five pre-defined statements (they could choose more than one) – the table below lists the statements and shows how they can be linked to von Borries’ model of historical identity and forms of legitimisation (see chapter one):

Pre-defined statements	Von Borries’ model of historical identity and legitimisation (1984:50-4)
1. It is completely normal that as a German I am more interested in the ancient past of the German lands than in the ancient past of other countries and cultures.	Positive view of ‘ancient past’, affirmative use of history/historical identity; legitimisation through history.
2. I think the ancient German past is embarrassing in comparison to the ancient past of the Greeks and Romans who have reached a much higher level of civilisation long before us.	Negative view of the ‘ancient German’ past, not affirmative of national identity/negative historical identity (at least in the context of the ‘ancient German’ past), legitimisation against history.
3. I do not think it is right to distinguish between the ancient German past and the ancient past of Greece and Rome – these cultures have greatly influenced the development of Germany and are therefore part of our history.	This view of history may be indicative of a range of different feelings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European identity, national identity, national past is not considered important. • Torch of civilisation. • Inter-connectedness of history. • Reflexive use of history; legitimisation despite of history – this results in a balanced historical identity.
4. I think that ancient history is irrelevant for the present and am therefore not interested in a comparison between the ancient German past and the history of other places and cultures/civilisations.	The ancient German past is irrelevant to national identity, legitimisation without history, history-free historical identity.
5. None of the above.	

Figure 15: Question 20 – German history and von Borries’ different types of historical identity and forms of legitimisation

7.3.3.3. How do former ‘Middle School’ students feel about their history education?

Question 23 explores how people feel about and experienced their history education, their encounter with public historical narratives (a similar question was asked by Rüsen et al. 1991: 269). The answers to this question were analysed in three separate steps:

1. The open and largely unstructured responses were considered in their own right – qualitative analysis.
2. Each statement (some people made more than one) was assigned into one of two categories: ‘largely positive’ and ‘largely negative experiences’ (there were no neutral answers – people either talked about what they liked or what they disliked).
3. Many interviewees criticised the fact that certain topics were either covered in too much or too little depth. A qualitative analysis of these comments (see Vol.II.6. and Vol.II.7.3.) offered insights into people’s priorities and interests as well as into ‘school-reality’ (or rather people’s memories of school-reality).

7.3.3.4. Where did former ‘Middle School’ students learn about the past (especially about ‘ancient history’)? What are the main sources of their knowledge and how important is history education?

In order to determine the impact of history education on people’s historical consciousness and their sense of national identity, it is necessary to investigate where people have learned about the past. In this context, it is important to note that the sources of historical information are not necessarily the same sources that inform a person’s historical consciousness (the way in which people connect the past and the present in a meaningful way) – it is much easier to transmit, absorb and acquire information than it is to influence or change people’s fundamental/underlying perceptions of the past (Mirow 1991:57-8). The results of the analysis must, therefore, be interpreted with care.

Several interview-questions are concerned with sources of people’s knowledge of the past (note: similar questions were asked by Lutz 2000: 387 and Rüsen et al. 1991: 270):

- Question 8 investigates where and to what extent people come into contact with history. The interviewees were asked to what degree they engage in a number of different activities concerned with history in the broadest sense (such as visiting museums). The answers provide a good overview over the sources of people's knowledge and offer insights into the degree to which history is part of their lives and daily routines.

It is important to bear in mind that there are some methodological problems with this approach: for example, a person might have read a vast range of academic literature in their youth but has since given up this hobby. He or she might, therefore, state that they never read books about history because this is true for the time of the interview; they might argue that they sometimes read books about history – balancing the fact that they used to do it a lot but do not do it anymore; or alternatively, they might state that they frequently read books about history because they used to. This leads on to a wider problem which cannot be overcome in this thesis – the answers are highly subjective: one person might not consider ten museum visits a year a lot, whereas someone else would say that they frequently visited museums if they went five times a year. Furthermore, the question does not take into consideration particular interests – someone might frequently watch documentaries, all of them concerned with the Weimar Republic.

- Questions 10 and 17 aim to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the sources of people's knowledge of history: the interviewees were asked to what degree they believe different media (including history education) contributed to their knowledge of certain periods in German history and the 'ancient past'. Again, it is important to bear in mind that the answers are subjective and rely heavily on people's memory.
- Question 24 explores the degree to which the interviewees learned from their history textbooks – and, if applicable, which other (educational) media were used in history lessons. The answers to this question help to determine the impact schoolbooks/official representations of the past have on students (note: similar questions were asked by von Borries 1988: 189; Herzberg 1994).

7.3.3.4. Do former 'Middle School' students believe history to be fact or do they have a more open, critical view of the production and presentation of historical information?

In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of people's historical consciousness it is important to investigate whether they understand history as being made-up of concrete facts; if people believe history to be objective or not. Furthermore, is the interviewees' understanding of history based on what they learned in school or were their ideas formed independently of their history education? These issues were explored in two interview questions:

- Question 27 asks interviewees to choose between four pre-defined statements representing different views of/approaches to history. Many of the interviewees felt that none of the options fully represented their understanding of the nature of historical information – their criticism and comments were recorded and were later grouped into more refined categories (see Vol.II.6. and Vol.II.7.5.).
- Question 25 explores whether the interviewees learned about the work with, and the limitations of, different historical sources in school.

Chapter 8

Analysis of the Interview-Data

8.1. Do former ‘Middle School’ students have a sense of national identity? If so, how does it relate to other forms of social and territorial identities? Which ‘building-blocks’ (ethnic, civic and cultural) is it based on?

8.1.1. National Identities in relation to other forms of identity: Questions 1 and 2

The analysis showed that people ascribe hardly any importance to their national identity compared to other forms of social identity – this is especially true for the interviewees from Saxony. Generally, ‘family and marital status’, the ‘current profession’ and the ‘area where people live’ feature much more prominently in people’s self-definition than their nationality.

It became apparent that national identity features more prominently in comparison to other forms of territorial affiliations than in relation to social identities – generally, the number of interviewees who said that they felt attached to Germany was higher than the number who said that they felt attached to their respective provinces, East/West Germany, or Europe. However, there were more interviewees who said that they felt close to their local areas than said that they felt close to Germany. Again, it was shown that the nation is generally considered more important by interviewees from Bavaria than by the respondents from Saxony. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Saxons and older people tend to have a stronger sense of East/West German identity than Bavarians or younger interviewees. It is also worth mentioning that the interviewees from Bavaria feel more attached to their province than the respondents from Saxony.

Finally, the qualitative section showed that the interviewees have a range of different, often personal, reasons for their attachment (or lack thereof) to different areas.

8.1.2. In- and out-groups: Questions 4 and 5

The quantitative analysis (Question 4) showed that there are no significant differences in the way the interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony, and those of different ages, define the national 'in-group'. The results can be summarised as follows:

- **Civic 'building-block':** The majority of the interviewees responded positively to the various items concerned with the civic component of national identity – approximately three quarters of the respondents felt that 'Germaness' can be defined on the basis of 'citizenship', 'respect for German political institutions and laws' as well as on an individual's perception of whether they are German. Interestingly, only c. 30% of the interviewees agreed that 'being born in Germany' represents a deciding factor in whether a person is German or not. However, rather than seeing this largely negative response as an indicator for 'ethnic' nationalism, the qualitative part of the question suggests that it can also be understood as a manifestation of a more inclusive/civic definition of the German 'in-group': some interviewees argued that both those born in Germany as well as those who moved to the country later on in their lives should have the right to become German nationals. Only 24.2% of the respondents believed that 'having lived in Germany' has an impact on whether a person is German or not – interestingly, the qualitative part of the question showed that the reasons for this are largely cultural (rather than 'civic'). Some of the interviewees believed that 'foreigners' who had lived in the country for a long time would be more familiar with 'German culture' and 'customs' and, on this basis, should be considered 'German'.
- **Ethnic 'building-block':** The question of whether descent determines 'Germaness' was largely contested among the interviewees – 58.1% of the interviewees did not consider 'having at least one German parent' an important criterion in defining the national 'in-group', 30.6% thought it was important and 9.7% of the respondents were not sure.

- **Cultural ‘building-block’:** Almost all of the interviewees considered ‘being able to speak German’ a decisive factor in defining the national ‘in-group’. Christianity was not seen as an integral part of German culture by the great majority of interviewees.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that 12 out of the 25 interviewees who felt that the list of ‘items’ provided in Question 4 was insufficient, believe ‘German culture’ and ‘customs’ to represent a decisive factor in the definition of ‘Germaness’.

In short, the responses to Question 4 showed that all three ‘building-blocks’ of national identity are present in the private sphere – civic and cultural components, however, seem to outweigh ethnic elements.

This was largely supported by Question 5: 25 out of 62 interviewees said that neither Turkish people nor ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ (‘ethnic Germans’ who lived in former Eastern Block countries and are now claiming German citizenship) should have more rights to German citizenship per se – decisions on whether a person is allowed to become a German national should be based on individual assessment and take into consideration a number of different factors (the interviewees suggested a range of cultural, political, social and economic factors). Furthermore, 14 out of 62 interviewees think that Turkish people should have more rights to German citizenship than ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ (again under certain conditions – speaking the language was again the most frequently named criteria). Only three of the interviewees expressed opinions that are clearly characteristic of the ethnic ‘building-block’ of national identity.

8.1.3. National pride (Question 6)

8.1.3.1. Pride in ‘collective goods’ (Questions 6.1.-6.4.)

Many of the interviewees objected to the term ‘pride’ and substituted it for ‘satisfied’ or ‘pleased with’. Most commonly people suggested that one can only be ‘proud’ of things one has done/achieved oneself and not of collective goods.

The results can be summarised as follows:

- **Civic goods:** The analysis showed that not many interviewees expressed pride in civic collective goods. This can, however, not simply be seen as a rejection of the civic ‘building-block’ altogether but must be understood in its wider socio-political context – to elaborate:
 - Only 24.2% of the interviewees feel proud of the German army – the remaining respondents either said they were unsure how to evaluate the ‘*Bundeswehr*’ (32.3%) or specified that they do not feel proud of the German military. There are two main reasons for these results: first, many people are wary of the army/German military campaigns because of WWII. Second, the international role of the German army was a very contentious and widely debated issue at the time of the interviews (2005) – especially in the light of the war in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq.
 - Only 22.6% of the interviewees feel proud of ‘the way democracy works’. This is possibly a reflection of a general feeling of political confusion, impotence and uncertainty – particularly pronounced at the time of the interviews (summer 2005) when Chancellor Schröder’s called an early election.
 - Only approximately one quarter of the respondents expressed pride in the ‘fair and equal treatment of all social groups’. Furthermore, the analysis showed that Bavarians generally have a more positive view of social fairness and equality in Germany than the interviewees from Saxony – possibly a result of the high unemployment rate in East Germany (especially in comparison to the West) and a general feeling among East Germans of being ‘second class citizens’ (Staab 1998: 153-64).
 - Less than half of the interviewees expressed pride in Germany’s ‘social system’. Again, this must be seen in the wider socio-political context: at the time of the interviews, people felt wary of the government’s social reforms and the country was experiencing a considerable economic recession.
- **Ethnic goods:** 22.6% of interviewees – mostly Bavarians and people born before 1970 – expressed pride in the ‘German mentality’. 37.1% of the

respondents – especially Saxons and people born after 1970 – said that they do not feel proud of the ‘German mentality’. Interestingly, both responses suggest that people believe in the existence of inherent German character traits. This is a notion which was rejected by the 40.3% of interviewees who said they were ‘not sure’ how to answer the question (also see qualitative analysis).

- **Cultural goods:** The interviewees feel most proud of the collective cultural goods: 79% said they were proud of the ‘achievements in the arts, literature and music’ (this is especially true for the respondents from Saxony), 71% feel proud of the ‘scientific and technological achievements’ and 66.1% are proud of Germany’s ‘achievements in sport’.
- **‘Other goods’:**
 - Less than half of the interviewees (40.3%) feel proud of Germany’s ‘economic achievements’. Again, it is important to bear in mind that the country was experiencing a significant economic recession at the time of the interviews.
 - German history – see below: section 8.2.3.1.
 - As many as 82.3% of the respondents feel proud of the ‘German landscape’. This supports the fact that most of the interviewees have a strong emotional bond with their local areas – they love and take great pride in the areas they live in.

Finally, it is worth noting that not many interviewees feel particularly proud of any collective goods that were not on covered in Question 6.1..

8.1.3.2. Feelings of superiority over other countries and peoples (Question 6.5. and 6.6)

The question did not prove to be very successful – people found it difficult to give general answers and tended to differentiate between/focus on particular countries and elements.

Four main types of responses can be differentiated:

1. 30.6% of respondents suggested that it is impossible to compare different countries and to judge whether one country is better than another.
2. 16.1% of interviewees argued that Germany can only be compared to particular/similar countries – and, that it was doing well in such a comparison (either as good as or better than others).
3. 16.1% of respondents suggested that a wholesale/sweeping comparison between countries is not sensible. They did, however, argue that it is possible to compare certain aspects of life/culture (such as the way democracy works). Depending on the aspect people were comparing, most interviewees came to the conclusion that Germany was doing well, better than other countries.
4. The remainder of the answers were very varied.

In short, the great majority of the interviewees do not entertain ‘knee-jerk’ or unconsidered feelings of superiority towards other countries; people are largely cautious of comparisons. It is, however, possible to say that many respondents (there are exceptions!) feel generally positive about their country.

8.1.3.3. National shame (Question 6.7 and 6.8)

Several interviewees felt uncomfortable with the term ‘shame’ and would have preferred less strong and emotive language.

The question was not phrased very well – with hindsight it would have been better to adopt a similar approach as in Question 6.1. and to ask interviewees about their feelings towards specific collective goods.

Generally, it can be said that the majority of the respondents do not feel ashamed of collective goods (64.5%). Those who said they felt ashamed largely focused on the Holocaust/the Third Reich/WWII or mentioned German history in general. Furthermore, a smaller number of interviewees stated that they felt ashamed of /heavily criticised the social system in Germany.

8.1.4. Multi-faceted identities? National identity and Europe (Questions 2 and 7)

The analysis showed that generally a larger number of interviewees felt attached to their local areas and to Germany than to Europe. However, over 50% of the interviewees said they felt close to Europe and only 30.6% of the people have no bonds with Europe (there are no significant differences between the two provinces or age groups). Furthermore, the majority of the interviewees believe that Germany should remain an independent nation/country but that it should work closely with the EU; that it should be politically, economically and culturally embedded in Europe.

8.1.5. Summary

For most of the interviewees their national identity is not important in an every-day context. It does, however, feature fairly prominently in the context of other forms of territorial identity. Furthermore, all of the respondents display multi-faceted territorial identities – they feel attached to a range of different areas. Generally, it was shown that Bavarians are more comfortable with the concept of the nation than the respondents from Saxony.

In terms of the different ‘building-blocks’ of national identity it became apparent that people do not necessarily define ‘Germaness’ on the grounds of those criteria they feel particularly proud (good) or ashamed (bad) about – to elaborate:

- Civic elements of national identity feature heavily in the definition of the German ‘in-group’ but many people do not feel proud of/heavily criticised German civic institutions.
- Ethnic factors are treated with great ambiguity – some people embrace them, others reject them.

- For most interviewees German culture is both a source of pride as well as a key element in defining whether a person is German or not.

Generally, there are very few significant differences between the national identities of Bavarian and Saxon interviewees and between the two different age groups (those born before and after 1970).

8.2. What is the nature of former ‘Middle School’ students’ historical consciousness? What functions is the past (especially the ‘ancient past’) believed to fulfil in the present? How are the three temporal dimensions connected? How much do people know about history (especially about the ‘ancient past’) and how do they feel about it?

8.2.1. What role is ascribed to the past in people’s lives and their social reality? (Questions 22 and 8)

8.2.1.1. Abstract level – people’s relationship with the past, the functions ascribed to the past: Question 22

Question 22 explored how people feel about history in theory and what functions they ascribe to the past. The analysis showed that the great majority of the interviewees agreed with most of the ‘items’ that are affirmative of history – they believe that people can learn from the past, that the past explains the present, that knowledge of the past helps to formulate goals for the future and that history is entertaining. At the same time, almost all of the respondents disagreed with those ‘items’ that listed reasons against studying the past – they do not find history boring, complicated, irrelevant or painful. In other words, most of the interviewees believe history to be important, valuable and relevant to modern life. This indicates that most interviewees have an affirmative/reflexive historical identity (see chapter one).

Furthermore, it is important to mention that there are no significant differences in the responses between the interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony. The roles and the meaning ascribed to the past, however, vary slightly between the two different age groups: for example, fewer younger people believe that it is possible to learn from the past. Furthermore, the interviewees born before 1970 tended to agree more with the statement that the German past made them feel proud – indicating that people from the older generation are more likely to have an ‘affirmative’, continuous sense of historical

identity. This is supported by the fact that older people tend to find history more entertaining/less boring than younger people.

8.2.1.2. Contact with history in everyday life (Question 8)

Question 8 showed that there are considerable discrepancies between the importance people ascribe to the past in theory and the way they deal with history on a daily basis. To elaborate: the most frequently consulted historical sources are documentaries and, to a lesser degree, movies that deal with historical topics and museum/memorial visits. Books about the past (academic or fiction) feature less prominently and very few interviewees are members of history/archaeology clubs/societies or have studied history/archaeology outside school. In other words, most of the interviewees have a superficial interest in the past; very few people actually engage in it in a more serious and in-depth manner – there is a difference between watching a documentary that happens to be on television and taking the time to read academic literature or enrol in evening classes to learn about history.

8.2.2. How much do people know about their national history and about the ‘ancient past’? To what degree does knowledge influence the way meaningful narratives (connections between the three temporal dimensions) are constructed?

8.2.2.1. The ‘national past’ (Question 9)

The interviewees could, on average, associate more keywords with ‘Early Modern’ and especially ‘Modern’ history than with earlier periods. Furthermore, the nature of the associated keywords as well as people’s responses to the ‘priority keywords’ suggests that most of the interviewees feel more comfortable with and know more about recent history than about the ‘ancient’ or the medieval past. To elaborate:

Pre- and Early German history

Most of the keywords associated with ‘German pre- and early history’ are fairly basic. For example, people commonly mentioned: ‘Neanderthals’ (11 out of 62), ‘Stone Age’ (8 out of 62), ‘Migration Period’ (8 out of 62), the ‘Alamanni’ (7 out of 62), the ‘Bronze Age’ (6 out of 62) and the ‘Romans’ (6 out of 62). The great majority of the associated keywords were categorised as ‘unspecified’ (42 out of 102); ‘local’ and ‘German and European’ topics feature far less prominently (12/10 out of 102) .

Furthermore, the majority of the interviewees were familiar with the very broad and well-known ‘priority keywords’ (such as ‘the Celts’ and ‘the Ancient Germans’) but were less sure about more specific items (such as ‘Arminius’/‘the Varus battle’). The analysis highlighted a number of patterns in the data: first, the Bavarian interviewees were generally more familiar with the ‘Celts’ and the ‘Limes’ than people from Saxony. This is not surprising considering that Bavaria has a rich Celtic history and that parts of the Limes are actually located in Bavaria. Second, more respondents from Saxony knew about ‘Arminius’/‘the Varus battle’. This is possibly due to the fact that GDR history education focused more on ‘liberation movements’ than history education in Bavaria. Third, fewer younger people (born after 1970) were familiar with the ‘ancient Germans’. This is interesting and indicates that Germanic prehistory might be less fashionable/features less prominently in society – possibly in an attempt to move away Nazi interpretations of prehistory which heavily abused the ‘Germanic heritage’ to justify their racial ideology (for example, see Arnold 1997 and Bollmus 1970).

The Middle Ages

Most of the keywords associated with ‘the Middle Ages’ are very basic and often clichéd – frequently mentioned keywords include: ‘knights’ (14 out of 62), ‘witches and witch hunts’ (13 out of 62), ‘crusades’ (11 out of 62) and ‘castles’ (10 out of 62). The majority of the keywords associated with the ‘Middle Ages’ were categorised as ‘German and European history’ (102 out of 152).

With regard to the ‘priority keywords’, it was shown that most of the interviewees – especially those born before 1970 – were familiar with Charlemagne, Barbarossa (both very famous emperors) and with the ‘Hanse League’ (not very surprising considering

the fact that '*Hansestädte*' still exist today). However, only half of the respondents knew about the Holy Roman Empire and its founders Heinrich and Otto. In other words, approximately 50% of the interviewees are completely unaware of the most basic political structures of medieval Germany and Europe.

The Early Modern Period

The nature of the keywords associated with the 'Early Modern Period' suggest that most of the interviewees have a more grounded understanding of this period than of 'pre- and early' and medieval German history. The respondents largely associated fairly specific events, individuals, sites and phenomena with the 'Early Modern period' – common examples include: 'Thirty Years of War' (18 out of 62), 'Schiller and Goethe' (9 out of 62), the 'Industrial Revolution' (8 out of 62), 'Napoleon' (8 out of 62) and 'Turnvater Jahn' (6 out of 62). Additionally, it is worth mentioning that most of the keywords were categorised either as 'German' or as 'German and European' history.

The responses to the 'priority keywords' show that whilst the majority of the interviewees are familiar with famous personalities such as 'Martin Luther', 'Karl Marx', 'Friedrich Engels' and, to a lesser degree, with 'Friedrich the Great of Prussia', they are less sure about specific events and details. For example, very few respondents knew of 'the German Bund' and only just over half of the interviewees (mostly Saxons) were familiar with the failed German revolution of 1848.

The Modern Period

The interviewees associated a large number of keywords with the 'Modern Period' – most of them demonstrated sound knowledge of most recent German history. The majority of the keywords were categorised as 'German history' (113 out of 198).

Almost all of the interviewees were familiar with the 'priority keywords'. However, the analysis showed – perhaps unsurprisingly – that Bavarians were more likely to associate/be familiar with 'Konrad Adenauer' and 'Willy Brandt' (both Chancellors of

the FRG), whereas the Saxons more frequently associated/were familiar with ‘Walter Ulbricht’ and ‘Erich Honecker’ (political leaders of the GDR).

8.2.2.2. *The ancient past* (Question 16)

The analysis showed that some periods/areas of ‘ancient history’ are better known than others. Generally, there are few differences in the level of knowledge of the ‘ancient past’ between the Bavarian and the Saxon interviewees or between the two different age groups.

‘Ancient Africa’ (Question 16.1.)

Level 1: Ancient Africa

On average people associated significantly fewer keywords with ‘Ancient Africa’ than with ‘German pre- and early history’ – this is remarkable considering that ‘pre- and early German history’ in itself does not represent a well-known area. It was, however, shown that generally older interviewees (born before 1970) tended to be more comfortable with the subject than younger respondents.

The great majority of associated keywords are very basic. Many of them are concerned with evolution and some of them refer to much later periods (especially the colonial period) – to name some common examples: ‘origins of humankind’ (19 out of 62), ‘Homo Sapiens’ (4 out of 62), ‘Hominids’ (4 out of 62) and ‘slaves’ (3 out of 62). Some keywords indicated better knowledge of the ‘ancient African past’. For example, four people associated ‘Lucy’ and two interviewees thought of ‘Carthage’. Generally, most of the keywords associated with ‘Ancient Africa’ were categorised as ‘world history’ (36 out of 54) and a relatively large number were classified as ‘unspecific’ (13).

Level 2: Ancient Egypt

All of the interviewees are familiar with ‘Ancient Egypt’ – generally, the respondents could associate significantly more keywords with Egypt than with ‘Ancient Africa’ (a similar number of keywords as were associated with ‘German pre- and early history’). The nature of most of the associated keywords suggests that the interviewees have a basic – and often rather clichéd – understanding of ancient Egyptian history. For example, common keywords include: ‘pharaohs’ (33 out of 62), ‘Cleopatra’ (11 out of 62), ‘Nile’ (5 out of 62) and ‘Exodus from Egypt’ (3 out of 62). Additionally, almost everyone knew about ‘pyramids’ and ‘hieroglyphs’ (more frequently associated by the interviewees from Bavaria than by the Saxons). Almost all of the keywords were categorised as ‘world history’ (124 out of 126).

Level 1: ‘Ancient Orient’ (Question 16.2.)

The interviewees associated a similar number of keywords with the ‘Ancient Orient’ as with ‘German pre- and Early History’ and ‘Ancient Egypt’. Most of the associated keywords suggest that the majority of interviewees have a very basic and often extremely clichéd understanding of the ‘Ancient Orient’ – often heavily informed by fairytales and/or the Bible. This manifests itself in keywords such as ‘1001 Nights’ (5 out of 62), ‘Ali Baba and the forty thieves’ (2 out of 62) and ‘Moses’ (3 out of 62). Other common keywords include: ‘Jews/Israel’ (5 out of 62), ‘first civilisations’ (5 out of 62) and ‘Alexander the Great’ (4 out of 62). Most of the keywords were categorised as ‘world history’ (86 out of 120).

Level 2: Persian Empire

Only 67.7% of the interviewees are familiar with the ‘Persian Empire’. This general lack of knowledge explains why the number of keywords associated with this period is relatively small in comparison to other periods/areas such as ‘German pre- and early history’ or ‘Ancient Africa’. The most commonly associated keyword was ‘Alexander the Great’ (possibly because of the blockbuster film ‘Alexander’ which was released shortly before the interviews were conducted). Furthermore, hardly any of the

interviewees were familiar with Darius – this is especially true for the respondents born after 1970.

Level 2: Ancient Mesopotamia

83.9% of the interviewees are familiar with ‘Ancient Mesopotamia’. Most people, however, found it difficult to associate anything with it – the number of associated keywords is much lower compared to ‘German pre- and early history’ for instance (but higher compared to the ‘Persian Empire’). The nature of the keywords suggests that the Bible is a major source of people’s knowledge of ‘Ancient Mesopotamia’. For example, many interviewees associated ‘the land between the two rivers/Euphrates and Tigris’ (15 out of 62) and ‘Tower of Babel’ (4 out of 62). Furthermore, most of the interviewees had heard of ‘Babylon’ but were not familiar with ‘Hammurabi’.

Level 2: Early Islam

Most of the interviewees associated significantly fewer keywords with ‘Early Islam’ than with ‘Ancient Mesopotamia’. This insecurity and lack of knowledge is also visible in the nature of the associated keywords which tend to be very basic and general. Hardly any keyword was mentioned by more than one person. Furthermore, whereas almost all of the interviewees are familiar with ‘Mohammed’, only half of the respondents know about the ‘Caliph system’. Generally, it was observed that the interviewees from Saxony and the younger generation were less likely to associate/be familiar with ‘Early Islam’ and ‘Mohammed’ than Bavarians and older respondents.

Level 1: Ancient Asia (Question 16.3.)

The interviewees associated more or less the same number of keywords with ‘Ancient Asia’ as with the ‘Ancient Orient’ or with ‘German pre- and early history’. The majority of keywords reflect a very basic understanding of the ‘ancient Asian past’. The most frequently associated keywords were ‘Dschingis Khan’ (15 out of 62) and ‘Mongols’

(14 out of 62), which slightly stretched the definition of ‘ancient history’ used in this thesis. Other common keywords include: ‘Buddha/Buddhism’ (6 out of 62), ‘silk route’ (3 out of 62) and ‘Samurai’ (5 out of 62).

Level 2: Ancient China

Many interviewees found it difficult to associate anything with ‘Ancient China’ – the number of keywords is approximately as low as in the case of the ‘Persian Empire’. Hardly any keywords were associated by more than one, or sometimes two, interviewees. Generally, the nature of the keywords indicates that most people have very basic and limited knowledge of ‘Ancient China’. However, almost everyone was familiar with the ‘Great Wall’ and over half of the interviewees knew about different Chinese dynasties (for example, the Han or the Ming).

Level 2: Huns

The majority of the interviewees said they were familiar with the Huns but could not associate very much with them. Again, none of the keywords were associated by more than one or two people. Generally, the nature of the keywords suggest that most interviewees have very basic and clichéd knowledge of the Huns. The majority of the interviewees were familiar with Attila – usually from the famous ‘*Niebelungen*’ legend.

Level 1: Ancient Europe (Question 16.4.)

The analysis showed that the interviewees know more about ‘ancient Europe’ than about the ‘ancient past’ of other areas in the world. This is supported by:

- **The nature of the associated keywords:** The most frequently associated keywords were ‘the expansion of Islam into parts of Europe’ (10 out of 62), the ‘Christianisation and the establishment of the Christian church’ (9 out of 62), ‘Lombards’ (5 out of 62), ‘Vikings’ (6 out of 62) and ‘East and West Rome’ (4

out of 62). As basic as these keywords may be, they generally reflect a better understanding of what was happening at the time than the majority of the keywords associated with, for instance, ‘the Ancient Orient’ or ‘Ancient Asia’.

- **The response to the ‘priority keywords’:** The interviewees are generally familiar with all of the ‘priority keywords’ and most of them could associate a large number of keywords with them (this compensates for the fact that the number of keywords associated with ‘Ancient Europe’ in general is not significantly higher than the number of keywords associated with some of the other periods/areas – such as the ‘Ancient Orient’).

Level 2: European Prehistory

Almost all of the interviewees said they were familiar with ‘European prehistory’. However, most of them only associated very few keywords with this period (similar to the number of keywords associated with ‘Ancient Mesopotamia’ for example). This can be explained by the fact that many respondents felt that this question was repetitive – they had already talked about what they knew about European prehistory in connection to ‘German pre- and early history’. This in itself is interesting as it suggests that most interviewees do not distinguish between ‘German’ and ‘European’ pre- and early history. Furthermore, the analysis showed that almost all of the interviewees are familiar with ‘Neanderthals’ (a rather general keyword) as well as with the ‘cave paintings at Lascaux’ (which reflects more detailed knowledge).

Level 2: Ancient Greece

‘Ancient Greece’ is an interesting case: the number and the nature of the associated keywords suggest that interviewees have a relatively high level of knowledge about the ‘Ancient Greeks’. People’s responses to the ‘priority keywords’, however, were largely poor. To elaborate: most the interviewees associated a large number of keywords with

the ‘Ancient Greeks’ – significantly more than with most other ‘ancient’ periods/areas (including ‘German pre- and early history’). In this context, it is important to note that the interviewees from Bavaria associated significantly more keywords with the ‘Ancient Greeks’ than the Saxons. Furthermore, although the associated keywords were fairly broad, they generally reflect a relatively grounded understanding of at least some aspects of Greek history. Common examples include: ‘philosophers’ (15 out of 62), ‘Socrates’ (10 out of 62), ‘Olympic Games’ (13 out of 62), ‘gods’ (10 out of 62) and the ‘Trojan War/Troy’ (8 out of 62). Interestingly, most of these keywords are concerned with ‘cultural’ aspects of life. At the same time, it emerged that less than half of the interviewees are familiar with the ‘Athenian democracy’ and even fewer people know what a ‘Polis’ is.

Level 2: Roman Empire

The analysis showed that the interviewees generally have relatively good knowledge about the ‘Roman Empire’. The number of keywords associated with the ‘Roman Empire’ was significantly higher than the number of keywords associated with other ‘ancient’ periods/areas and is comparable to the number of keywords associated with the ‘Ancient Greeks’. The associated keywords largely fall into four main categories:

1. Keywords concerned with conquests, wars and the expansion of the empire – for instance, ‘the expansion of the empire, conquests’ (19 out of 62), ‘huge empire’ (11 out of 62) and ‘wars with Carthage’ (5 out of 62).
2. Keywords concerned with oppression/violence – for example, ‘gladiators’ (7 out of 62) and ‘persecution of the Christians’ (4 out of 62).
3. Keywords concerned with the administration of the empire in the widest sense – for instance, ‘coinage’ (1 out of 62), ‘good roads’ (1 out of 62) and ‘strict/tight organisation’ (1 out of 62);
4. Other – including, for example, individual emperors (such as ‘Nero’, 15 out of 62) and Roman cities (such as ‘Pompeii’, 2 out of 62).

The majority of the keywords were categorised 'European history' (86 out of 159); only 10 of them deal with 'German and European history'.

The great majority of the interviewees were familiar with the 'priority keywords' – especially with 'Cesar' and 'Hannibal'. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees from Saxony were more likely to associate/be familiar with 'Spartacus' than the Bavarians. This might be the result of the emphasis on class-struggle and liberation movements in the GDR educational media (chapter five).

Level 2: Early Middle Ages in Europe

The average number of keywords associated with the 'Early Middle Ages in Europe' was very low – on a par with 'Ancient Mesopotamia' and significantly lower than the number of keywords associated with 'German pre- and early history'. The responses to the 'priority keywords' also suggest that the interviewees generally do not feel very confident with this topic: a fairly large number of the interviewees (71%) said they were unfamiliar with 'the Early Middle Ages in Europe', only 71% know about the 'Migration period' (with people born before 1970 being significantly better informed than the younger generation) and only half of the interviewees are familiar with the 'Frank Empire'.

8.2.2.3. *Summary*

Generally, most of the interviewees have very basic/limited (and often clichéd) knowledge of history in general and, especially, of the 'ancient past'. However, the analysis showed that respondents tend to know most about the 'Early Modern' and 'Modern' period in German history as well about certain aspects of 'Ancient Greek history' (this is especially true for the Bavarians), the 'Roman Empire' and, to a lesser degree, 'German pre- and early history' as well as 'Ancient Egypt'.

8.2.3. How do people feel about their ‘national past’ and about ‘ancient’ history? How do they connect the past with the present? Which aspects of the ‘national past’ and ‘ancient history’ are particularly important (meaningful) to them?

8.2.3.1. The ‘national past’

This part of the analysis focuses on people’s relationships with ‘national history’; it explores how the interviewees make sense of the past, how they create meaningful historical narratives and how this is related to particular ‘content’/aspects of history. Three main areas are of particular interest:

1. Which aspects of the past do people consider particularly important/influential?
2. Do people feel particularly proud or ashamed of the German past? If so, which aspects do they feel proud/ashamed of?
3. To what degree do people feel involved in/responsible for ‘national history’?

These are explored in turn:

Important/influential factors in national history (Question 11)

Most of the interviewees listed a large number of historical events and figures which they consider particularly influential for German history. To name some of the most frequently cited examples: ‘Hitler’ (32 out of 62), ‘Bismarck’ (26 out of 62), ‘Adenauer’ (21 out of 62) and ‘Luther’ (20 out of 62). Other, less frequently mentioned, events and figures include: ‘WWII’ (12 out of 62), ‘Charlemagne’ (11 out of 62), ‘Re-unification’ (10 out of 62) and ‘Marx and Engels’ (10 out of 62). Because this was an open question and the respondents mentioned such a large number of factors, it was not possible to statistically explore any differences/similarities in the answers given by the interviewees from Bavaria and those from Saxony. However, a few patterns emerge in the data: first, the interviewees from Bavaria tended to ascribe more importance to Adenauer (15 out of 32 versus 6 out of 30). This is not surprising considering that Adenauer represents an

important figure in the early history of the FRG. Second, Marx and Engels were only mentioned by respondents from Saxony. This can be explained by the huge focus on/influence of Marx's and Engels' teachings during the 40 years of GDR rule. Third, fewer Bavarian interviewees consider Luther a key figure in German history (6 out of 32 versus 14 out of 30 in Saxony) – possibly because the Protestant reformer is a less popular/relevant topic in largely Catholic Bavaria than in Saxony.

The majority of historical events and figures considered especially significant by the interviewees deal with 'political history' (193 out of 325). A much smaller number of items were categorised as 'intellectual, technological and cultural achievements' (67 out of 325). The remaining items were split between the rest of the categories – such as 'wars, violence, Holocaust, military, oppression' (17 out of 325) and 'Religious/Church history' (22 out of 325). Furthermore, almost all of the factors mentioned by the respondents are either concerned with the 'Early Modern period' (92 out of 325) or, especially, with 'Modern history' (201 out of 325). Only a single item was categorised as 'pre- and early history' and only 17 items deal with 'medieval history'. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that almost all of the answers were classified as 'German history' (266 out of 325).

Pride (Question 6.1.h and Question 12)

Many interviewees feel very little pride in German history compared to other collective goods (Question 6.1.) – almost half of the interviewees do not feel proud of the German past, approximately a quarter of the respondents said they were not sure either way and only 25.8% of people feel proud of their national history. Generally, it was observed that none of the interviewees found it easy to answer this question; they all had to think about it and felt that they had to explain their answers. The general feeling among those who said they were not proud of the national past was that the crimes committed during the Nazi period overshadowed all of the good things that had happened in German history. Many of those people who expressed uncertainty also strongly condemned the Third Reich and the Holocaust but felt that some aspects of the national past were very positive. Furthermore, most of those interviewees who expressed pride in 'German

history' consciously rejected the notion of still having to take the blame for the crimes committed by the Nazis and wanted to be able to 'move on'.

Question 12 explores the issue in more detail: 64.5% (40) of the interviewees said that they feel proud of at least some aspects of their national history (again, some interviewees objected to the term 'pride'). Interviewees from Saxony were significantly more likely to feel proud of certain events/figures in the German past than the respondents from Bavaria. This might be a reflection of the 'guilt-free' approach to history adopted and promoted by the GDR government. Furthermore, the younger generation of interviewees tends to feel less proud of German history than the respondents born before 1970. This is interesting as it somewhat contradicts research which suggests that the older generation of West Germans have an 'uneasier' relationship with national history than younger people (Fulbrook 1999: 234-5; Fulbrook 2000: 187; Wolfrum 2002: 143-4). There are several possible explanations for this result: first, it might be a reflection of the recent emphasis in history education on critical thought – this may have encouraged students to question historical developments to a greater extent and to look for what went wrong in the past rather than to accept historical narratives presented to them face-value. In other words, the fact that younger people are less positive about German history may be indicative of a change in historical consciousness – from 'feel good' history to a more critical attitude. Second, it is also possible that younger people learned more about the Nazi period in school than older interviewees; that they have been taught a more negative historical narrative and were to a greater extent confronted with the crimes the Germans committed in the past. Third, younger people's sense of belonging and identity may be based more on events in the present than on a shared past.

There was generally little consensus among the interviewees with regard to the aspects of history they feel proud of (Question 12) and those they consider to be particularly influential (Question 11). To give some examples of items people believe to be especially positive: 'Re-unification' (6 out of 40), 'Brandt' (6 out of 40), 'Schiller' (5 out of 40 – 4 of them from Saxony), 'Goethe' (4 out of 40), 'Bismarck' (4 out of the 40), 'Adenauer' (4 out of 40), 'Marx and Engels' (4 out of 40 – all of them from Saxony) and 'the new beginning after the Second World War' (4 out of 40, 3 of them

from Bavaria). In short, there is only a small overlap between the aspects of German history people consider important and those they feel proud of.

This is supported by the fact that ‘political history’ is considered to be especially influential, whereas people tended to be equally proud of ‘political history’ and ‘intellectual, technological and cultural achievements’ in the German past (38 versus 32 out of 111 items). There are fewer differences with regard to historical periods and ‘areas’: as was the case in Question 11, the analysis of Question 12 showed that people generally feel most proud of events/figures from ‘Early Modern’ (34 out of 111) and ‘Modern’ history (68 out of 111 items); none of the interviewees said they were proud of ‘German pre- and early history’ and only two of the responses were categorised as ‘medieval history’. Furthermore, the respondents were mostly proud of ‘German history’ (98 out of 111), other categories hardly featured.

Shame (Question 13)

64.5% (40) of the interviewees said they felt ashamed of certain events/figures in German history (note: several people criticised the term ‘shame’). Unlike in Question 12, there are no significant differences between Bavarians and Saxons or between the two different age groups.

Generally, the responses were much more homogenous than in Question 12. Almost all of the 40 interviewees said they felt ashamed of the crimes committed during the Nazi period – they commonly referred to the ‘Third Reich’ (14 out of the 40), the ‘Second World War’ (12 out of 40), ‘Hitler’ (9 out of 40) and the ‘Holocaust’ (6 out of 40). Consequently, most of the answers were categorised either as ‘political history’ (27 out of 64) or as ‘wars, violence, Holocaust, military, oppression’ (25 out of 64). Furthermore, the responses largely dealt with the ‘Modern’ period (53 out of 64) and were concerned with ‘German-’ (36 out of 64) or with ‘German, European and world history’ (17 out of 64).

Finally, it is worth noting that there are strong correlations between the results from Questions 11, 12 and 13 and people's knowledge of the past (see above, Question 9 and 16): the interviewees generally knew more about the 'Early Modern' and 'Modern' period than about 'ancient history' or 'the Middle Ages'. This is reflected in people's view of and feelings towards German history – the respondents predominantly considered 'Early Modern-' and especially 'Modern history' as particularly influential and were mostly proud or ashamed of events that had occurred in the past 200 years. In other words, perhaps unsurprisingly historical knowledge greatly informs people's relationship with and perception of the past.

Overview: Pride and Shame (Question 14)

After having established which events/figures in German history the interviewees feel proud and/or ashamed of, it is important to investigate how respondents feel about their national past in general (detached from particular contents) – to gain a better overview of their relationship with the past (again, several people objected to the terms 'pride' and 'shame'). The answers to Question 14 showed that the majority of the interviewees on the whole feel 'neither proud nor ashamed of the German past'. Several respondents explained that it is normal for good and bad things to happen, that it is part of life – no reason for particularly strong emotions either way. 31.7% of the respondents feel 'mostly proud of German history'. Again, many interviewees felt they had to justify their answer and argued that the crimes committed during the Nazi period should/must not overshadow all of the positive developments in German history. Additionally, it is worth noting that none of the interviewees said they were 'mostly ashamed' of their national past.

In other words, the responses to this question fall into two main categories of von Borries' model of historical identity: first, it appears that the majority of interviewees has a 'history-free historical identity', that many people do not feel particularly emotionally involved with history. Second, it was shown that a large group of

respondents display signs of an ‘affirmative historical identity’ – that history is central to some people’s view of themselves, to their sense of pride and dignity.

Responsibility for German history (Question 15)

Question 15 explores in more detail the degree and the nature of people’s attachments and bonds with the national past. It was shown that the overwhelming majority of the interviewees feel that they are ‘not directly responsible for German history but think that it is their duty to learn from both positive and negative things that happened in the past’. What does this mean?

First, it suggests that most of the interviewees do not have an ethnic understanding of history – they do not believe that people in the present are directly connected to/part of their ancestors and their deeds. Instead the majority of the respondents adopt a more critical and ‘reflexive’ (see von Borries’ different types of historical identity and forms of legitimisation – chapter one) approach to history in which past and present are connected more by an intellectual than by an emotional/ethnic bond – one is not directly responsible for the past but has a duty to learn from it. It is interesting to note that such an approach, at least in theory, means that the history of other countries is as/similarly valuable as the national past.

Second, it became clear that the nature of people’s historical identities (see von Borries’ different types of historical identity and forms of legitimisation – chapter one) cannot be determined by looking at ‘pride’ and ‘shame’ alone – it is important to consider the level of people’s involvement with history. To elaborate: the results from Question 14 indicate that most of the interviewees either have a ‘history-free’ or an ‘affirmative’ historical identity. However, the fact that almost all of the interviewees claimed not to be directly responsible for German history but feel that it is their duty to learn from the past, suggests that most of them also display signs of a ‘reflexive’ historical identity. In short, the combined results from Question 14 and 15 (and, to a lesser extent, from Question 12 and 13) strongly suggest that historical identities/feelings towards the past are based on a range of different elements of von Borries’ model of historical identity, some of which are more pronounced than others.

Summary

Feelings towards and bonds with the past: In comparison to other collective goods, very few interviewees said they feel proud of German history. However, when asked more specifically, it emerged that the majority of respondents feel proud at least of certain aspects of the national past – this is especially true for the interviewees from Saxony and the older generation. Furthermore, it was shown that over 60% of the interviewees feel ashamed of certain elements in German history. When asked to describe their feelings in general, over half of the of respondents said that overall they feel neither particularly proud nor ashamed of German history and over 30% claimed to be mostly proud of their national past. Additionally, it was shown that almost all of the respondents do not feel directly responsible for the past but consider it their duty to learn from history. In short, the majority of interviewees to some degree feel emotionally attached to the past – for some this is a more affirmative relationship than for others. However, hardly any of the respondents completely identify with the past, see it as part of themselves and as something they are responsible for. Furthermore, it emerged that most people are not uncritical of ‘their’ national history – they tend to differentiate between positive and negative developments and feel it is their duty to learn from the past.

‘Content’/Information: People have a particularly strong relationship with the ‘Early Modern’ and, especially, the ‘Modern period’ – not only do they tend to consider events in the past 200 years of German history to be most important but they also feel most proud and most ashamed of events/figures from ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern history’. This largely reflects the level of people’s knowledge of the past – as demonstrated in the last section, the respondents tend to be more comfortable with/know more about recent history than about the prehistoric and medieval past. One possible reason for this higher level of knowledge, interest and involvement with more recent history is the fact that these periods can be more easily integrated into people’s personal history, they are less abstract – parents and grandparents were alive at the time of the Weimar Republic and/or the Nazi period, family photographs may depict rural life in the 1930s and one might find medals dating back to WWI among grandparents jewellery.

Furthermore, it was shown that ‘political history’ occupies an important place in the interviewees’ historical consciousness – it is considered very influential and represents an important source of people’s pride and shame. Additionally, it was demonstrated that many respondents feel especially proud of the ‘intellectual, technological and cultural achievements’ and tend to be most ashamed of ‘wars, violence, Holocaust, military, oppression’ in German history.

8.2.3.2. *The ‘ancient past’*

This section explores people’s feelings towards the ‘ancient past’ and investigates whether (and if so, how) the interviewees consider the ‘ancient past’ to be relevant to the present/modern life in Germany.

The influence of the ‘ancient past’ on modern life in Germany (Question 18 and 19)

1. **Cultural Legacy:** 90.3% (56) of the interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ has an impact on the cultural and artistic life in modern Germany.

11 out of 56 respondents could not explain their answer. They were unable to specify which areas of modern culture they believe to be shaped by the ‘ancient past’ and could not provide examples of any particularly influential ‘ancient’ periods/cultures. This suggests that people’s ‘gut-feeling’ about the role of the ‘ancient past’, their general view of and feelings towards history extends to areas they know very little about and/or do not tend to think about.

Many of those interviewees who explained their answer believe that ‘ancient history’ as a whole (not one specific culture/period) influenced modern ‘sciences’ (4 out of 56), ‘architecture’ (5 out of 56) and/or ‘art’ (5 out of 56). Furthermore, six respondents argued that everything in history is connected, that everything has an impact on everything else – the ‘ancient past’, therefore, influences the present more or less by default. With regard to specific ‘ancient periods’, it emerged that the interviewees tended to place more emphasis on Classical (and especially Greek) history than on any other ‘ancient’ period/area.

This is perhaps not surprising considering that the interviewees tended to be most familiar with ‘ancient Rome’ and Greek culture (see Question 16). Furthermore, most of the responses were either categorised as ‘unspecified’ or as ‘European history’. In short, many interviewees believe that ‘ancient European history’ has a greater impact on the cultural life in modern Germany than the ‘ancient German past’.

2. **Social Order:** Only 32.3% (20) of the interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ influenced the social order in modern Germany; the remaining respondents were either unsure (22.6%) or rejected the statement (45.25%).

Six of the respondents who agreed with the statement did not explain their answer. Eight interviewees suggested that everything in history is connected – that the ‘ancient past’ influences the present more or less by default (see cultural legacy). And similarly, three of the interviewees argued that the social order in modern-Germany is the result of a constant learning process that started in ‘ancient history’. Furthermore, it is worth noting that hardly any of the respondents provided any concrete examples of which aspects of the social order they believe to have been inspired by/originated in the ‘ancient past’ and/or which particular period they consider to be most influential. Consequently, most of the answers were categorised as ‘unspecified’.

Most of the interviewees who disagreed with the statement feel that the current social order had emerged later in history, that the situation had been very different in ‘ancient times’.

3. **Political Order:** 62.9% (39) of the interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ influenced the political order in modern-Germany.

The few respondents who explained their answer (15 out of 39) tended to focus on ‘democracy’ – they argued that the concept originated either in ‘Ancient Greece’ (10 out of 43 reasons, some people gave more than one reason) or, less specifically, in ‘ancient history’ (9 out of 43 reasons). Again, several people suggested that everything in history is connected (4 out of 43 reasons) and that the modern situation is the result of a long learning process (4 out of 43 reasons). Generally, the analysis showed that most of the answers were either categorised as ‘unspecified’ (21 out of 43) or, less frequently, as ‘Ancient Greek’ (13 out of

43) or 'Roman history' (6 out of 43). Other historical periods hardly featured in the answers. In other words, Classical/European (especially Greek) 'ancient history' tends to be considered more relevant to the current political system than events/figures from 'ancient national history'.

4. **German State:** There is little consensus among the interviewees – 48.4% suggested that the German state originated in the 'ancient past', 21% were not sure and 30.6% rejected the idea. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the interviewees from Saxony and the older generation were more likely to agree with the statement than the respondents from Bavaria and those born after 1970. Many of interviewees who explained why they thought the German state originated in the 'ancient past' suggested that it developed over hundreds of years in a process that was 'kick-started' in 'ancient times' (9 out of 30 reasons). Furthermore, several of the interviewees traced the roots of the German state back to Charlemagne (5 out of 30). Consequently, many answers were categorised as 'unspecified' (16 out of 30 reasons) and 'medieval history' (13 out of 30 reasons) on the one hand and as 'unspecified' (14 out of 30 reasons) and 'German and European history' (11 out of 30 reasons) on the other.

5. **Ethnic and national groups:** 80.6% of the respondents believe that certain ethnic and/or national groups have 'ancient' roots.

There is little consensus with regard the examples listed by the interviewees. Relatively frequently mentioned 'groups' include: 'Bavarians' (10 out of 99 reasons/examples, some people gave more than one example – mostly Bavarian interviewees), 'Swabians' (9 out of 99 – mostly Bavarian interviewees), 'Franks' (5 out of 99), 'Sorbs' (4 out of 99), 'Slavs' (4 out of 99) and 'Prussians' (4 out of 99). Generally, most of the answers were categorised as 'local' (32 out of 99 reasons/examples), 'European' (24 out of 99 reasons/examples) or 'German history' (15 out of 99 reasons/examples).

Finally, the majority of the interviewees rejected the statement that the 'ancient past' is irrelevant to life in modern Germany. However, it emerged that the younger generation of interviewees is more likely to agree with the statement than the people born before 1970.

Question 19 clarifies and explores some of the issues raised in Question 18. There is little consensus among the interviewees – people chose a range of different combinations of answers (which made it impossible to carry out statistical significance tests). To summarise:

- 42 out of 62 interviewees believe that it is important to have knowledge of Classical history in order to understand developments in the German past (note: most of them in combination with other answers). This matches the view that Roman and, especially, Greek history have a significant impact on the political and cultural life in modern Germany (see Question 18).
- 16 out of 62 respondents feel that it is not important ‘whose past’ we are studying as history undergoes similar processes and developments everywhere in the world (note: most commonly chosen in combination with the view that we need to know about Classical history in order to understand the national past). This fits in with the idea expressed by a number of people in Question 18 that history is interconnected, that everything influences everything else.
- 9 out of 62 interviewees think that it is necessary to look at the ‘ancient’ German past in order to understand national history (note: most commonly chosen in combination with the view that we need to know about Classical history in order to understand the national past). This matches the view that the German state and/or certain ethnic groups in Germany originated in the ‘ancient past’(see Question 18).
- 7 out of 62 respondents said they were not sure.

In short, most of the interviewees feel that German history cannot be sufficiently explained by looking at the national past alone – in order to fully comprehend German history, it is necessary to consider the wider picture.

Feelings towards ‘ancient German history’ (Question 20)

Hardly any of the interviewees find the ‘ancient German past’ more interesting than the ‘ancient past’ of other countries in the world. Furthermore, only 4 people said that they felt embarrassed by ‘ancient German history’. Generally, the great majority of people (43 out of 62, 51 out of 62 when considering those who chose more than one answer) believe that one should not distinguish between the ‘ancient German’ and the Classical past, that the two are so closely intertwined that the history of ancient Greece and Rome almost becomes part of German history. This largely matches the results from Question 18 and 19.

Summary

Generally, most of the interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ is, to a certain extent, relevant to the present – many consider Classical history to be especially important. This suggests an interesting correlation between knowledge (people tend to be more familiar with ‘Ancient Greece’ and ‘Rome’ than with other ‘ancient’ periods/areas – see Question 16) and views of the relationship between the past and the present. This raises the question whether the interviewees would ascribe more importance to the ‘ancient Chinese past’, for example, if they knew more about it or if the Classical period would still be granted a special place in German history. At the same time, and this is slightly contradictory, many interviewees had a ‘gut-feeling’ about the extent to which the ‘ancient past’ influenced modern life but found it difficult to substantiate their arguments and to give specific examples. This indicates that people do not necessarily have to know very much about the past of history in order to have an opinion on how it affects the present.

8.3. How do former ‘Middle School’ students feel about their history education? (Question 23)

Generally, the interviewees focused more on their negative experiences with history education than on the positive aspects. It is, however, worth noting that the respondents from Saxony and the older interviewees were significantly more positive about their history lessons than the respondents from Bavaria and the younger generation.

More specifically, many of the interviewees said they liked their history education because it was fun (15 out of 62) and/or because they had a good teacher (13 out of 62). History lessons were mostly criticised because they were not practical enough (9 out of 62), because they focused too much on dates (8 out of 62), because they were too ‘dry’ (6 out of 62, 5 of which were from Bavaria) and because they were too ideologically coloured (7 out of 30 Saxon interviewees). Furthermore, it is worth noting that several interviewees thought that their lessons had concentrated too much on certain periods/events (18 out of 62) – for example, WWII (5, 4 of them from Bavaria) and SED/GDR history (3 – all of them from Saxony). Additionally, a large number of interviewees believed that certain topics had been neglected/not been dealt with in enough detail (17 out of 62) – for example, post-war history (3 – all of them from Bavaria), ‘non-German history’ and the ‘ancient past’.

8.4. Where did former ‘Middle School’ students learn about the past (especially about ‘ancient history’)? What are the main sources of their knowledge and how important is history education?

8.4.1. Sources of knowledge of ‘national history’ (Question 10)

The following sums-up the key results:

8.4.1.1. German Pre- and Early History

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘German pre- and early history’:** Not very much – none of the sources are considered important by more than approximately half of the interviewees.
- **Most important sources:** ‘School’ (54.8%) and ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ (51.6%).
- **Least important source:** ‘Books’ (22.6%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** ‘Tourism, museums, etc.’ is a more important source of knowledge for Bavarians.

8.4.1.2. German Middle Ages

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about the ‘German Middle Ages’:** Slightly more so than is the case for ‘German pre- and early history’ (between 30 and 70% of the respondents consider the different sources important).
- **Most important sources:** ‘School’ (71%) and ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ (62.9%).
- **Least important source:** ‘Media’ (30.6%).

- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** Interviewees from the older generation learned more about the ‘German Middle Ages’ from books than respondents born after 1970.

8.4.1.3. Early Modern Period in Germany

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘German Early Modern history’:** Slightly more so than is the case for ‘German pre- and early history’ (between 32.2 and 82.3% of the respondents consider the different sources important).
- **Most important sources:** ‘School’ (82.3%) and ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ (54.8%).
- **Least important source:** ‘Media’ (32.3%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** Saxons learned more about the ‘Early Modern period’ in school, ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ is a more important source of knowledge for Bavarians, and more younger people consult ‘films’ and the ‘media’.

8.4.1.4. Modern German History

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘Modern German history’:** More so than is the case for other periods (between 61.3 and 79% of the respondents consider the different sources important).
- **Most important sources:** ‘School’ (79%) and ‘film’ (79%).
- **Least important source:** ‘Books’ (61.3%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** None.

8.4.1.5. Summary

‘School’ is the most frequently mentioned source of knowledge for all the different historical periods – there are generally no differences between the interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony (the ‘Early Modern period’ is an exception – interviewees from Saxony tended to consider ‘school’ more important than the respondents from Bavaria) or between the two age groups. Furthermore, ‘tourism and museums’ represent an important source of knowledge – this is especially true for Bavarians. Additionally, the analysis suggests that the interviewees tend to keep more informed/more frequently consult a wider range of sources about the ‘Modern past’ than about earlier periods in German history – particularly ‘pre- and early history’.

8.4.2. Sources of knowledge of the ‘ancient past’ (Question 17)

8.4.2.1. Ancient Africa

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘Ancient Africa’:** Not very much, slightly less than is the case for ‘German pre- and early history’ – none of the sources are considered important by more than approximately 40% of the interviewees.
- **Most important sources:** ‘Films’ (40.3%) and ‘books’ (37.1%).
- **School:** Less frequently considered important than ‘films’ and ‘books’, more frequently considered important than ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ and the ‘media’ – 32.3%.
- **Least important source:** The ‘media’ (25.8%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** ‘Films’ are more frequently considered an important source by the interviewees born before 1970.

8.4.2.2. Ancient Orient

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about the ‘Ancient Orient’:** Not very much, less than is the case

for ‘German pre- and early history’ and possibly ‘Ancient Africa’ – none of the sources are considered important by more than approximately 25% of the interviewees.

- **Most important sources:** ‘Films’ (25.8%) and the ‘media’ (21%).
- **School:** Less frequently considered important than ‘films’ and the ‘media’, more frequently considered important than ‘books’ and ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ – 19.4%.
- **Least important source:** ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ (14.5%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** ‘Films’ are more frequently considered an important source by the interviewees born before 1970.

8.4.2.3. *Ancient Asia*

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘Ancient Asia’:** Not very much, less than is the case for ‘German pre- and early history’ – none of the sources are considered important by more than approximately 30% of the interviewees.
- **Most important sources:** ‘Films’ (30.6%) and ‘books’ (19.4%).
- **Least important source:** ‘School’ (8.1%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** ‘Films’, ‘books’ and ‘school’ are more frequently considered important sources by the interviewees born before 1970. Interviewees from Bavaria were more likely to say that they have learned about ‘Ancient Asia’ from the ‘media’ than the respondents from Saxony.

8.4.2.4. *Ancient Europe*

- **General indication of the degree to which interviewees learn/inform themselves about ‘Ancient Europe’:** More so than is the case for ‘German pre- and early history’ and other ‘ancient’ periods/areas (between 41.9 and 82.3% of the respondents consider the different sources important).

- **Most important sources:** ‘School’ (82.3%) and ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ (58.1%).
- **Least important source:** The ‘media’ (41.9%).
- **Differences between interviewees from Bavaria/Saxony and respondents born before/after 1970:** ‘Films’ are more frequently considered an important source by the interviewees born before 1970.

8.4.2.5. *Summary*

‘School’ represents a less important source for many people’s knowledge of the ‘ancient past’ than for their knowledge of ‘national history’ – ‘Ancient Europe’ is an exception to this: the overwhelming majority of interviewees claim that the ‘ancient European past’ was thoroughly covered in their history education. Furthermore, many respondents believe ‘tourism, museums, etc.’ to be a less important source for their knowledge of ‘Ancient Africa’, the ‘Ancient Orient’ and ‘Ancient Asia’ than for their knowledge of the ‘national’ and the ‘ancient European past’. At the same time, more people said that ‘films’ greatly informed their knowledge of ‘ancient history’ – this is particularly true for the interviewees born before 1970. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that the interviewees generally tend to keep more informed/more frequently consult a wider range of sources about ‘Ancient Europe’ than about other ‘ancient’ periods/areas (largely including ‘German pre- and early history’).

8.4.3. **Teaching materials used in schools (Question 24)**

The majority of the interviewees claimed that textbooks were heavily used in their history education: 61.3% said that they had almost exclusively learned from textbooks and an additional 25.8% argued that they had frequently used their schoolbooks but that their teacher had also employed other teaching materials. Only six of the interviewees thought that they had not used their textbooks/that they did not have any. The most

commonly used teaching materials apart from the schoolbooks were films, historical sources, maps, notes, '*Wandbilder*' ('wall-pictures') and presentations.

8.5. Do former ‘Middle School’ students believe history to be fact or do they have a more open, critical view of the production and presentation of historical information?

8.5.1. Subjective/Objective View of History (Question 27)

Many of the respondents felt that the four pre-defined answers did not properly reflect their opinions. People’s comments and suggestions were recorded and included in the analysis. Generally, there is little consensus among the interviewees – to summarise the responses:

1. History is fact (27.4%).
2. History is subjective and relies heavily on interpretation (25.8%).
3. Unsure – but tends to believe that history is fact (22.6%).
4. Some things are fact, others require a high level of interpretation (14.5%).
5. Unsure (9.7%).

8.5.2. Understanding of historical sources (Question 25)

Again, there is little consensus among the respondents: 64.5% of the interviewees claimed that they never learned about the work with/the limitations of the different historical sources and about the production of historical knowledge. 32.1% said that they learned about historical methods and about the work with either all (12.9%) or some (19.2%) of the historical sources.

Note: As we have seen in chapter five, the most recent textbooks – especially those produced in the 1990s and 00s – focus much more on the production of historical knowledge. It would be interesting to explore whether this has an impact on younger people’s knowledge of historical sources.

8.5.3. Summary

The majority of interviewees tend to believe that history is fact and claim they never learned about the work with historical sources in school. At the same time, a fairly large number of respondents have a more open approach to the past and suggested that history relies heavily on interpretation. This matches the fact that approximately one third of the interviewees claimed that they had – to varying degrees – learned about the production of historical knowledge in their history education.

Chapter 9

Discussion: the ‘Ancient Past’ in the Private Historical Consciousness and its Relationship with National Identity

This section summarises the results of the analysis and links them to the theoretical framework as outlined in chapter one. The aim is to systematically explore the nature of people’s knowledge of the past, their views of and feelings towards history and to gain a better understanding of the role people ascribe to the past in their daily lives. The final part of this section investigates how people’s approaches to history relate to their sense of national identity.

9.1. People's relationship with history, their knowledge and views of the past

9.1.1. 'Content'

When dealing with the private sphere and, specifically, with data derived from interviews, the question of 'content' is very different than in the context of the public sphere of written/recorded (and, therefore, fixed) historical narratives. As outlined in the theoretical framework in chapter one, 'content' is made-up of three main elements: 1) facts and knowledge; 2) general ideas about the course of history; and 3) selection and interpretation. It is possible to dissect written historical narratives into these different components and to analyse each one individually, but this cannot be done when dealing with people's minds and feelings. In this context, 'content' does not exist as something fixed and tangible: people's knowledge of the past is very much alive and fluid; it changes as people learn, forget, repress and remember information. Furthermore, people's interpretation of 'facts' and the way they incorporate information into their wider understanding of historical processes and dynamics very much depends on current conditions, needs and requirements.

The following focuses on how the interview-data can be used to gain insights into the respondents' knowledge of the past. People's interpretations of history and their underlying views of historical processes are closely intertwined with the functions they ascribe to the past and are therefore discussed in the following section.

9.1.1. Pool of information available to people: knowledge

The interview-data allows insights into people's knowledge of different historical periods at the time of the interview. Two main observations were made: first, most interviewees know more about 'Early Modern' and, especially, 'Modern' German history than about earlier periods in the 'national past'. Second, the majority of the

interviewees have very limited knowledge of ‘ancient history’. They are, however, more familiar with ‘German pre- and early history’, ‘Ancient Egypt’ and (especially) with the Classical past than with ‘Ancient Africa’, the ‘Ancient Orient’ and ‘Ancient Asia’.

In short, people’s knowledge of history is inconsistent and limited. This means that large amounts of information are not readily available to people to help them define themselves and their national ‘in-group’, to assure them of their actions/existence and/or to guide them in their daily lives (this is explored further below).

9.1.2. The sources of people’s knowledge of the past and the role of public historical narratives as presented in educational media

People’s knowledge of the past derives from a variety of sources – including both public and private media. History education is a particularly important source for many interviewees’ knowledge of German history (all periods) and of the ‘ancient’ European past – namely those areas that the respondents tend to know most about. Private/non-official sources were more frequently considered important for the respondents’ knowledge of other, less well-known periods/areas in ‘ancient history’ (note: further research is required to statistically validate these findings).

9.2. Functions of the past: the place of ‘national’ and ‘ancient history’ in people’s lives

It is methodologically difficult to determine which functions the past fulfils in people’s lives. There are two main reasons for this: first, people are not necessarily conscious of how their knowledge of the past affects their views, feelings and practices/actions. Second, the way the past affects the present, and the functions it fulfils in people’s lives depends on present conditions, needs and requirements as well as on the nature of the information people deal with (not all information is equally suited to fulfil the different functions – see below).

The following explores how the interview-data may be used to gain a better understanding of these processes:

9.2.1. Explanation and Guidance

Most of the interviewees consider ‘explanation’ and ‘guidance’ to be important functions of history. The majority of respondents believe that it is important/that it is their duty to learn from history and that knowledge of the past helps them to understand the present and to plan for the future. Additionally, it emerged that many people clearly distinguish between positive and negative developments in history (see: pride and shame), that they look to the past – mostly the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern period’ – for guidance and use it to define who they are and want to be.

It is, however, interesting to note that there seem to be some discrepancies between the way people feel in theory and what they do in practice: whereas the majority of interviewees argued that it is vital for people to learn from the past, most respondents actually devote relatively little time to expanding their knowledge of history. One possible reason is that people see ‘explanation’ and ‘guidance’ to be more important functions for society as a whole than for their personal lives (note: family and personal histories are not considered in the analysis).

9.2.2. Definition and Characterisation

This is largely covered in section 9.3. which deals with the different ‘building-blocks’ of national identity and explores how they are linked to perceptions of (and feelings towards) the past.

In this context it is, however, worth noting that all of the interviewees, with varying degrees of force, reject the crimes committed during the Nazi period; many of them said they feel ashamed by (or, for those who feel less emotionally attached, very bad about) what happened and clearly distance themselves from the Third Reich. In other words, a large number of respondents define themselves and their society on the basis of what they are not, do not want to be and no longer are. By extension, many people said they feel proud of (or, for those who feel less emotionally attached, very good about) certain aspects in German history. In other words, identification with history is not only negative – there are also episodes in people’s ‘national past’ that show them who ‘they’ (read: their society) want to be and/or maybe once were or still are (interestingly, these tend to be especially from the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern’ period).

Furthermore, a relatively large number of interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ has, to a certain extent, influenced present realities in modern Germany – realities that are linked to all three ‘building-blocks’ of national identity (see 9.3.). Interestingly, in many cases it is not the ‘ancient German past’ that is considered particularly influential, but rather ‘ancient history’ in general, with some interviewees focusing on the Classical period in particular.

In short, most of the interviewees seem to particularly identify with events/figures in recent German history. When talking specifically about the legacy of the ‘ancient past’, however, people tend to ascribe more importance to the Classical period than to early ‘national history’.

9.2.3. Legitimation, Validation and Justification

Von Borries identified four different ways in which the past may (or may not) be ‘used’ by people, four different types of legitimisation which lead to different forms of ‘historical identities’ (see chapter one). All of them are, in one way or another, represented in the interview-data. To elaborate:

1. Minimal use of history

- *‘Ancient history’*: ‘Ancient history’ does not seem to be at the forefront of people’s minds, many interviewees do not know very much about it and several respondents suggested that it has either nothing or, more commonly, very little to do with modern Germany.
- *‘National history’*: Many respondents claimed that they generally feel neither particularly proud nor ashamed of German history. Furthermore, almost all of the interviewees said they do not feel directly responsible for the ‘national past’.

2. Affirmative use of history

- *‘Ancient history’*: There is little to suggest an affirmative use of history in the context of the ‘ancient past’ – most of the interviewees do not know very much about it and it does not seem to be something people tend to think about. Nevertheless, when asked directly many respondents feel that at least certain aspects of modern life have originated in the ‘ancient past’ – such as local ethnic groups, some cultural practices and political concepts. Generally, little importance is ascribed to ‘German pre- and early history’ – the Classical past tends to be regarded as being slightly more important, interesting and/or influential by many interviewees.

- *'National history'*: The majority of respondents feel proud of (or, for those who feel less emotionally attached, very good about) some elements in German history – largely events/figures from the 'Early Modern' or 'Modern period'. However, only relatively few said that looking back on to 'national history' makes them feel good about themselves and/or that they generally feel proud of the German past as a whole.

3. Destructive use of history

- *'Ancient history'*: There is little to suggest a destructive use of history in the context of the 'ancient past' – most people do not generally seem to feel particularly emotional about 'ancient history'. It is, however, worth mentioning that a small number of interviewees said they feel ashamed of 'ancient German history' in comparison to the 'ancient history' of Greece and Rome.
- *'National history'*: Whereas none of the interviewees said that they feel mostly ashamed of German history as a whole (this does not mean that they feel proud of history), it became clear that many people have an uneasy relationship with the 'national past' – largely because of the Nazi period. Almost all of the interviewees distanced themselves from the crimes committed in the Third Reich and said that they feel ashamed of (or, for those who feel less emotionally attached, very bad about) what happened. It is important to note that this destructive use of the past does not seem to extend to any other periods in history.

4. Reflexive use of history

- The majority of respondents, to a greater or lesser degree, evaluate historical developments, look at positive and negative aspects in the past and use this as a basis to decide where society should be heading/how

society should be organised. This goes hand in hand with the notion that it is important to learn from the past and to make sure that certain mistakes are not repeated – the example of the Third Reich is especially pronounced. In this context it is, however, important to bear in mind that a) not many interviewees actually devote much time to actively expanding their knowledge of the past, and b) that many interviewees believe history to be fact, and think that there is one true version of the past.

In short, the interview-data suggests that all four forms of legitimisation are available to people and are, in fact, ‘used’ by them. Which elements prevail and how strongly they are pronounced depends on a person’s general view of, and feelings towards, the past as well as on present conditions and requirements (note: this needs to be verified by future research). Furthermore, how people ‘use’ history and feel about the past is influenced by the specific ‘content’ that people are dealing with – some things in history make us feel good about ourselves (possibly better than others); other elements of the past make us feel awful, sick and ashamed; and some periods we do not really care about. These notions can correlate with different approaches to the past – such as a closed-, an open or a critical understanding of history.

In order to explore these issues further and to gain a better understanding of how the different forms of legitimisation are related to each other, it is necessary to carry out more research – possibly a factor analysis which focuses more on individuals and establishes correlations between different answers.

9.2.4. Stabilisation and Support

The following discusses the three key elements of the ‘stabilisation and support function’ of history:

1. **Common roots:** Many interviewees believe that certain aspects of life in modern Germany have ‘ancient’ roots – they either point to the ‘ancient past’ in general (common), to ‘German pre- and early history’ (very few) or to ancient Greece and Rome (common). However, generally the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern period’ are considered more influential for the development of German history and more relevant to present realities. For example, many see 1945 (and possibly 1990) as a turning point in German history and as the origin of society as it stands.
2. **A sense of continuity:** As we have seen, the great majority of the interviewees very much distance themselves from the Nazi period and see 1945 as a distinct break in practices, values and traditions. Furthermore, most interviewees would go as far as accepting that they have a duty to learn from their national past, but reject any suggestion of having to take responsibility for the actions of their ancestors. There are limits to people’s feeling and acceptance of continuity – most respondents do not completely identify with their ancestors or see themselves as being part of them. Additionally, it is important to note that most people’s sense of continuity leaves room for change and improvement: most interviewees believe that (at least in theory) it is necessary to critically evaluate the past, to learn from it and, if necessary, to break away from harmful/wrong practices and traditions.
3. **Fraternity:** The interview-data does not allow much insight into this subject. It has, however, become apparent that most respondents see the national past (both the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’) as a collective good – as a national heritage that needs to be dealt with by society in one way or another.

In summary, the functions of the past are to a certain extent dependent on specific ‘content’ of history – for example, some historical periods foster a greater sense of common roots than others; certain elements in history make people feel particularly good about the past, others make them feel awful and question their practices, values and/or feelings of self-worth. The analysis produced two slightly contradictory findings with regard to how these processes relate to people’s knowledge of history:

First, most respondents feel more strongly about (and ascribe more importance to) 'Early Modern' and 'Modern' German history than about other historical periods. With regard to 'ancient history' specifically, many interviewees place great emphasis on the Classical period. It is these periods that the majority of respondents seem to know most about and are most comfortable with. In other words, there appears to be a correlation between the level of people's knowledge of the past and the historical periods/areas they consider to be most relevant to the present – those they make the most 'use' of. Furthermore, history education seems to be a particularly important source of people's knowledge about German history and about 'Ancient Europe'. This suggests that school education has a strong impact on people's knowledge of the past and, by extension, on the functions that history fulfils in their lives (note: future research needs to explore these issues further and validate the findings).

Second, a relatively large number of interviewees commented on the impact of the 'ancient past' on certain aspects of life in modern Germany but were not able to explain or substantiate their arguments. This suggests that people can have a feeling or an opinion about how the past relates to the present without actually knowing very much about it. This is supported by von Borries who argues that people's ideas of how the three temporal dimensions are connected are often based on general political or ideological convictions and not on concrete knowledge of the past (von Borries 1998: 431).

9.3. National Identity

People's sense of national identity is closely intertwined with a range of different forms of social and territorial affiliations – including a strong sense of local identity, East/West German affiliations (these tend to be stronger among the interviewees from Saxony and the older generation) and European identities. The respondents from Bavaria tended to be more comfortable with (or have a stronger sense of) German national identity than the interviewees from Saxony.

Most people's national identities are based on all three 'building-blocks' which tend to be connected to particular views of history. To elaborate:

- **Civic 'building-block'**

Civic elements of national identity are relatively pronounced among the majority of interviewees – most people regard knowledge of and commitment to civic values, practices and institutions as criteria for defining the national 'in-group'. Furthermore, the fundamental civic principles are not questioned by the respondents – the way people feel about their realisation, however, depends on current political and socio-economic conditions.

Most interviewees consider 'political history' to be especially influential for the development of German history. People's answers focused very much on the 'Early Modern' and 'Modern period'; the 'ancient past' hardly features in relation to the civic 'building-block' of national identity. Most respondents do, however, entertain a vague notion that the concept of democracy derived from 'ancient (Greek) history'.

- **Ethnic 'building-block'**

Ethnic elements of national identity are not equally pronounced among the group of interviewees – several respondents believe in ethnic characteristics and

attributes of ‘the Germans’ and use these in the definition of the national ‘in-group’; other interviewees do not.

The great majority of interviewees do not seem to have an ethnic understanding of the past. There are clear boundaries to the level of most people’s emotional involvement with ‘national history’ – many respondents believe that it is possible to feel proud/ashamed of certain elements in German history, and that it is important to learn from the past but reject the concept of being directly responsible for the actions of their ancestors. Again, it can be suggested that this largely stems from the fact that very few people let the past affect them on a personal level – from the notion that it is society as a whole that needs to deal with national history. Furthermore, although many people believe that certain modern ‘groups’ have ‘ancient’ origins, hardly anyone suggested that the ‘German national group’ as a whole was formed in ‘ancient history’.

- **Cultural ‘building-block’**

For many interviewees German culture represents an important factor in the definition of the national ‘in-group’ as well as a key source of collective national pride.

This is supported by the fact that a large number of respondents feel proud of certain elements in German ‘cultural history’ (again, mostly from the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern’ periods). Furthermore, many interviewees believe that the ‘ancient past’ has influenced the cultural life in modern Germany – much emphasis is placed on Classical history; the ‘ancient German past’ hardly features in the answers.

The different ‘building-blocks’ of national identity seem to be based on particular views of, and feelings towards, history. Again, ‘content’ plays an important role – not all aspects of history are equally important to people, are equally ‘used’ or suited to support

the different 'building-blocks'. The 'Early Modern' and 'Modern period' in German history are considered particularly important by the great majority of interviewees.

Part IV : Conclusion

Chapter 10

Summary and Conclusion

10.1. The Public and the Private Sphere

The aim of this project was to systematically explore the extent to which, and the ways in which, societies' and individuals' views of and feelings towards the 'ancient past' inform and/or are influenced by their world view, their perceptions of themselves and their sense of national identity. Specifically, this thesis set-out to explore three main research questions; the first two of which are discussed in Parts II and III. The following summarises the main findings:

10.1.1. The public sphere: What can public historical narratives as represented in educational media tell us about the functions the 'ancient past' is intended to fulfil in society and about official notions of national identity?

The aim of Part II was to identify the ways in which present conditions, political ideologies and prevalent forms of national identity and historical consciousness impact on 1) the 'content' of public historical narratives; 2) the functions these are intended to fulfil in society/in the present; 3) on the way they are communicated to the 'private sphere'; and 4) to gain a better understanding of the relationship between historical narratives as presented in educational media and public notions of historical consciousness and national identity. Furthermore, the overarching goal was to establish the degree to which these processes are generic/follow the same pattern in different societies/states and the extent to which they are influenced by particular contexts, circumstances and conditions. The theoretical framework outlined in chapter one provided the framework for the analysis of these issues. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

1. The 'content' of public historical narratives:

It was outlined in chapter one that 'content' of historical narratives consists of three main elements: information (facts and knowledge), general ideas about the course of history and selection and interpretation. The schoolbook and the curriculum analyses in Part II showed that all three components are greatly influenced by prevalent forms of socio-political organisation as well as by the current value system and ideology. To elaborate:

There are a few superficial similarities between the FRG (Bavarian and post-1990 Saxon) and the GDR educational media – both ascribe relatively little importance to the 'ancient past' and both cover similar subject-areas. The way the selected information is dealt with, however, varies significantly between the FRG and GDR schoolbooks and curricula. The two sets of educational media emphasise different aspects of essentially the same 'raw material'; they interpret and present the information very differently and draw different conclusions from the past. Furthermore, there are significant differences between the FRG and GDR schoolbooks in the way in which meaningful historical narratives are constructed: the underlying views of historical processes and the way in which the three temporal dimensions are connected vary greatly between the two. The GDR educational media are based on the all-encompassing socialist ideology and the deterministic Marxist-Leninist model of historical progress, whereas the Bavarian and post-1990 Saxon schoolbooks and curricula follow a less stringent framework and are based on a less clearly defined value system and world view.

2. The 'functions' of public historical narratives:

It was argued in chapter one that historical narratives fulfil certain functions in the present; that they offer explanation and guidance, help societies and individuals to define themselves and to justify/legitimise their beliefs and actions. As such, the past can have a stabilising effect on the present. The analysis in Part II showed that the historical narratives presented in both the FRG and the GDR educational media were intended to fulfil all of these functions; that the basic principles by which the past was made relevant to the present were the same in the two German states. However, it was

demonstrated that the specific aims/content of these ‘functions’ and the way in which they were realised vary greatly between the two sets of educational media – the historical narratives were constructed in ways which met the particular requirements, needs and conditions of each state.

3. Public notions of national identity:

All of the books encourage the development of multi-faceted national identities. Furthermore, all three ‘building-blocks’ of national identity feature/are visible in the historical narratives about the ‘ancient past’ – cultural and civic factors are generally more pronounced than the ethnic ‘building-block’. However, again it was observed that the content of the promoted identities and the ways in which the different ‘building-blocks’ manifest themselves in the historical narratives vary between the FRG and the GDR schoolbooks. In summary, it was shown that the FRG books encourage the development of a German national identity which is based on democratic and Western values and which accommodates for European and local affiliations. The GDR books, on the other hand, aimed to foster a sense of socialist national identity – based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism.

4. The communication of public historical narratives to the private sphere:

In both the FRG and the GDR, history education was considered an important ‘socialisation agent’. However, the realities, identities and values into which students were hoped to be socialised vary greatly between the two sets of schoolbooks – students in the FRG were socialised into a pluralistic democracy and a ‘Western’ value system; whereas the GDR schoolbooks and curricula strongly encouraged the development of a so-called ‘socialist personality’ (see chapter 3.2.).

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that both the early Bavarian and GDR books promote a ‘closed’ view of history: historical narratives and associated messages and values are largely presented as fact. The more recent Bavarian and Saxon editions adopt a more open and critical approach to history than their predecessors.

In short, it was shown that in both the FRG and the GDR much effort was devoted to constructing public historical narratives which met the requirements of the political system at the time and which were intended to socialise students into a particular ideology, value system and world order. On a general level it can be said that all of the public historical narratives are constructed from the same principle components, are intended to fulfil the same functions in society/the present and are influenced by the same factors. Furthermore, it became apparent that ‘ancient history’ is not ascribed an especially significant place in history education and, by extension, in the socialisation and ‘orientation-functions’ which history is hoped to fulfil.

However, upon closer inspection it became apparent that below these very broad/superficial similarities there are significant differences between the schoolbooks. These are particularly pronounced between the FRG and the GDR textbooks and are less obvious between the different ‘generations’ of schoolbooks produced within the same state. This suggests that educational media are predominantly influenced by the prevalent political ideology, value system and philosophy and less so by more specific political decisions, situations and the present socio-economic conditions. This explains, for example, why the GDR educational media were completely re-written after the collapse of the system – the ideological parameters had changed.

10.1.2. The private sphere, perceptions of individual members of society: What can interview-data tell us about people’s knowledge of ‘ancient history’ and the extent to which, and ways in which, this information affects/is influenced by their world views, their perceptions of themselves and their sense of national identity?

The aim of Part III was to explore the degree to which individual members of society are familiar with ‘ancient history’ (especially in comparison to other historical periods) and to gain an understanding of how they make this knowledge relevant to the present, how they think it affects/should affect their lives and how it relates to their sense of

national identity. Furthermore, the interviews investigated the extent to which public historical narratives inform people's understanding of the past – especially in comparison to 'private sources'. To summarise the main results:

First, it is important to mention that there are few significant differences between the different groups of interviewees (Bavarians/Saxons and people born before and after 1970) and their approach to and view of the past. It is possible that this is due to methodological short-comings – the sample size, the questions and/or the statistical tests may have insufficiently detected differences and trends.

1. Knowledge of the past:

The analysis showed that most people have a rather limited 'pool of knowledge' available to them from which they can select information and construct meaningful historical narratives which can help them to make sense of (and cope with) the present. With regard to knowledge, two main observations are particularly interesting: first, the interviewees tend to know more about 'Early Modern' and, especially, 'Modern' German history than about earlier periods in the 'national past'. One possible reason for this is that recent history is more tangible/less abstract to people, that it can be more easily incorporated and made relevant to their personal lives and family histories (this argument needs to be explored further in future research). Second, the respondents seem to be more familiar with 'German pre- and early history', and particularly with the Classical period, than with other periods/areas in the 'ancient past'.

It was argued in chapter one that people's knowledge of the past can derive from a range of different sources. The interview-data suggests that public historical narratives are particularly important: people are more informed about those subject-areas that many interviewees claim were covered extensively in their history education (future research needs to explore this further and validate these findings) than about those periods that were – according to most of the interviewees – not dealt with in school.

2. The functions of the past:

The analysis showed that the past fulfils essentially the same functions in the private as in the public sphere – it offers guidance to people, explains to them why things are the way they are, where they have come from and where they should go in the future. It also helps them to define who they are and, by extension, to decide who they want to be and do not want to be. Furthermore, it was shown that people ‘make use’ of the past in very different ways – history can be ‘used’ in an affirmative, destructive or reflexive way (see chapter one). Alternatively, it can not be ‘used’ at all. How people ‘use’ the past and how they let it affect the present depends on the nature of the information they are dealing with/talking about, how people interpret and evaluate this information, and on the way they incorporate it into their general understanding of historical processes.

This leads on to the next point. The interview-data suggests that there are some interesting correlations between people’s knowledge of the past and the ‘functions’ that history fulfils in their lives: the majority of respondents tend to consider those periods they know most about to be particularly influential and they generally seem to feel more emotional about them. However, this does not mean that most of the respondents do not have an opinion of and feelings towards less well-known historical periods; many interviewees seem to have a general view of how different elements in history fit together even if they do not have any specific knowledge about certain periods/areas.

3. National identity

The interview-data suggests that people’s knowledge of the past affects their lives and informs/supports their sense of national identity. The degree to which, and the ways in which, people ‘use’ history varies between respondents and depends on the specific information people are dealing with (see above). In this context, it is important to reinforce the fact that the ‘ancient past’ does not feature very prominently in people’s sense of identity – the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern period’ tend to be far more important. Additionally, it was shown that civic and cultural elements of national identity generally feature more prominently than ethnic components (at least among the majority of interviewees). Furthermore, each ‘building-block’ is linked to particular

views, aspects and ‘uses’ of history. Finally, Bavarians tend to have a stronger sense of German national identity than the interviewees from Saxony. This fits with previous research which suggests that people’s sense of identity is heavily influenced by their experience of re-unification and the way people feel about their place in the ‘new’ German state (but interestingly clashes with the results from the schoolbook and curriculum analyses which showed that the GDR educational media more explicitly and forcefully foster a sense of national identity than their Bavarian/Saxon counterparts).

10.1.3. The relationship between the public and the private sphere: What can the answers to Research Questions 1 and 2 (Part II and III of the thesis) tell us about the relationship between the public and the private sphere? To what extent, and how, do they resemble one another/differ and/or influence each other?

This research question pulls together the results of Part II and Part III of the thesis; it explores how the findings for the public and the private sphere compare to each other and attempts to determine whether there is a relationship between them.

A comparison between Part II and Part III – between the public and the private sphere – is difficult. This is largely due to the fact that the two are based on fundamentally different sets of data: Part II deals with written (fixed) public historical narratives from which inferences are made about how the past is intended to affect the present, about the functions history is meant to fulfil in society as well as about official notions of national identity. Part III, on the other hand, deals with people’s active and fluid historical consciousness – people’s views of (and their feelings towards) history are heavily dependent on present circumstances; they are constantly changing in order to meet present requirements and needs and cannot be separated from other thoughts and emotions that respondents are experiencing at the time of interview. Whereas history schoolbooks allow the analysis of finished/complete and unchanging historical narratives that deal specifically with the ‘ancient past’, interview-data is less comprehensive, contained and structured. It is limited in scope and can only highlight, address and capture certain aspects of people’s historical consciousness and national identity.

Despite these difficulties, it is possible to identify a number of correlations and discrepancies between the public and the private sphere:

1. Knowledge of history, the 'content' of historical narratives and historical consciousness:

There are a number of correlations between the 'content' of the public historical narratives and people's knowledge of the past – the 'content' of their historical consciousness. To summarise:

- 'Early Modern' and 'Modern history' feature especially prominently in public historical narratives and in people's knowledge of the past. By extension, 'ancient history' plays a less significant role in both the public and private historical consciousness.
- Classical history is covered more extensively in public historical narratives than other 'ancient' periods. This matches the results from the interviews which indicate that most people are more familiar with ancient Greece and Rome than with the 'ancient history' of other places in the world.
- 'Ancient Greece' features particularly prominently in the FRG schoolbooks and in the historical consciousness of the Bavarian interviewees.
- The GDR schoolbooks place much more emphasis on class-struggle and liberation movements than their Bavarian counterparts. This may explain why the interviewees from Saxony knew more about Spartacus and Arminius than the Bavarian respondents.

These correlations between the public and the private sphere suggest that history education in schools has an impact on people's knowledge of the past. At the same time, it is important to note that there are some significant discrepancies between the content of the educational media and the interviewees' understanding of history. These are particularly pronounced with regard to the medieval period: the 'Middle Ages' are

covered extensively in the curricula, yet people's knowledge of this period tends to be simplistic and limited.

This is a very interesting finding; the reasons for which we can currently only speculate about until future research sheds more light on the issue. However, it can be assumed that the way the subject is taught to students is largely responsible for their lack of knowledge of medieval history. To elaborate, a glance at the curricula suggests that medieval history lessons focus very much on the history of principalities and the successions of emperors, kings, princes, counts etc.. This makes for rather dry and confusing subject matter which is difficult to follow. Furthermore, such an approach to medieval history does not make it relevant (or interesting) to the present – it focuses on historical figures (i.e. dead people whose lives seem to have nothing in common with the students' daily experiences), political and religious structures that no longer exist in the same the way (or have the same importance). This is a great shame and a missed opportunity. Medieval history has a lot to offer to the present – subjects such as migration, climate change, epidemics and religious conflicts would be very topical today (Henson pers.comm.). Other possible reasons for the lack of knowledge of and interest in the Middle Ages may be that the subject is taught to students at a particularly 'difficult' age (early teens); a time when young people are more likely to model/orientate themselves on their peers and popular youth culture than role-models such as teachers and parents. Finally, it is possible that the common cliché of the 'Dark Age' contributes to the lack of people's knowledge of and interest in the medieval period that they simply believe it has nothing of interest or value to offer.

2. Functions and 'uses' of the past:

History fulfils the same functions in both the public and the private sphere – it explains present conditions, offers guidance and helps to define and characterise the national 'in-group' by tracing the 'group's' origins and history. Furthermore, the past is 'used' to legitimise present conditions, beliefs, practices and/or goals for the future – mainly by drawing on continuities between the past and the present and/or by consciously breaking with negative trends and traditions. Additionally, history stabilises and supports group-affiliations and helps societies and individuals to orientate themselves in

time. It gives them a sense of belonging and enables them to deal with the present and plan for the future.

However, these similarities are rather superficial: whilst the processes of (and the principles behind) making the past relevant to the present (and the future) are the same across all of the educational media and equally apply to all interviewees (regardless of their age and/or whether they are from Saxony or Bavaria), the ways in which these ‘functions’ are actually put into practice vary considerably between individual cases. To elaborate, it was observed that the factors which determine how history is ‘used’ are quite different for the public and the private sphere: The ways in which historical narratives in public educational media are intended to affect the present are largely shaped by prevalent value-systems and forms of political ideology. The interview-data, however, shows that discrepancies in the ways in which people make history relevant to their lives and/or society, and how they view/feel about the past, depends very much on the history that they are dealing with. This is not to suggest that schoolbooks deal with all of the historical periods in the same way or that people’s political convictions and views of the world do not have an impact on their historical consciousness – rather these issues simply have not been explored in this thesis and would need to be investigated in future research.

3. National identity:

Both public and private national identities are intertwined with other forms of social and/or territorial affiliations and are based, to greater or lesser degrees, on all three ‘building-blocks’ outlined in chapter one. Generally, cultural and civic components feature more prominently than the ethnic ‘building-block’. It is however worth mentioning that variations in how notions of national identity are dealt with vary much more between the FRG/GDR educational media than between the interview-data from Bavaria and Saxony. This suggests that present realities and conditions and/or personal experiences/views have a stronger effect on private notions of identity than the messages communicated in educational media (at least those in relation to ‘ancient history’).

The analysis showed that in both the public and the private sphere each 'building-block' of national identity is based on and/or leads to particular interpretations and views of history and of the legacy of the 'ancient past'. It is, however, worth mentioning that generally 'non-ancient history' plays a much more important role than the 'ancient past' in both public and private notions of national identity and national historical narratives.

10.2. Future Research

This study has raised a large number of new research questions and should, therefore, not be seen as the definitive word on the subject but rather as a basis for future research. The following are examples of areas that require further investigation:

1. The Public Sphere:

- It was shown that the ‘ancient past’ has a special and, possibly, less important place in the national narrative. It would be interesting to explore how issues relating to national identity are dealt with in connection to more recent history and to compare and contrast the results with those for ‘ancient history’.
- One could look at a wider range of schoolbooks produced at roughly the same time under different provincial governments and examine the degree to which there is conflict and debate about the ‘ancient past’ in the public sphere – specifically, in pluralistic democracies such as the FRG.
- This thesis has focused on ‘Middle School’ education. It would be interesting to investigate whether interpretations and presentations of ‘ancient history’ are the same in educational media used in other types of schools – are the same or different messages communicated to students from different social backgrounds and/or with different learning abilities? How does this relate to the functions of the education system outlined in chapter 3.1.?

2. The Private Sphere:

- Prevalent forms of political ideology greatly influence the interpretation and presentation of public historical narratives. Future research could explore the extent to which this applies to the private sphere: do people’s political convictions have an impact on their views of (and feelings towards) the ‘ancient past’?

- ‘Factor analysis’ would be an interesting way of investigating in more detail whether certain types of national identity correlate with particular views of (and feelings towards) history and different ‘uses’ of the past.
- Future research could investigate in more depth the extent to which people feel that the ‘ancient past’ affects/should affect them on a personal level and the degree to which they believe ‘ancient history’ impacts/should impact on society as a whole.
- It would be interesting to further explore the relationship between knowledge of the past and people’s views of (and feelings towards) history.
- The analysis indicated that there is a correlation between people’s knowledge of the past and the sources they consult for particular historical periods – this requires more in-depth analysis, a greater sample size and more detailed interview questions (it would, for example, be useful to quantify terms such as ‘frequently’, ‘not very often’ etc.).

3. **The relationship between the public and the private sphere:**

- Comparisons between public and private notions of historical consciousness and national identity would be easier if similar types of sources were used – for example, public historical narratives as presented in educational media and written/‘fixed’ private documents (such as novels, biographies, the media etc.).
- Future research could more systematically explore the impact history education has on students, investigate how successful it is as a ‘socialisation agent’ – for instance, one could examine how a group of students reacts to a particular part of their history education.
- It would be interesting (but methodologically extremely difficult) to establish the effect that the private sphere has on the public sphere.
- The subject of didactics was largely ignored in this thesis. Future research could explore the following questions: To what extent does the fact that the ‘ancient past’ is taught to younger students than more recent history affect the material selected for the educational media, the way information is interpreted and presented and the messages that are communicated? What effect does this have

on students – do many people have such a simplistic and often clichéd view of the ‘ancient past’ because they are taught it at such a young age?

In conclusion, this study has systematically explored the extent to, and the ways in which, public and private views of (and feelings towards) the ‘ancient past’ inform and/or are influenced by prevalent political ideologies and forms of national identity. The results of the analysis support the theoretical framework as outlined in chapter one. It was demonstrated that the underlying processes and structures of historical consciousness and national identity are very similar between the public and the private sphere and vary little between different socio-political contexts and conditions. However, the particularities in which historical consciousness and national identities manifest themselves (their ‘realisation’) vary considerably between individual cases – they largely depend on present conditions and requirements as well as on the particular content/information that is being dealt with.

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Volume II

Supplementary Material

Section One

List of approved history schoolbooks concerned with the 'ancient past' for 'Middle Schools' in Bavaria and Post- Unification Saxony

The books in bold were used in the analysis.

NOTE: The bibliography is not in alphabetical order, books are listed in the sequence in which they were approved by the ministries. Furthermore, volumes I and II of the same series are always listed together.

Bavaria

1950s:

Watermann, K. & . 1950, *Bilder aus der Alten Welt*, 1? edn, Verlag Joh. Borgmeyer, Bonn am Rhein.

Approved in: 1964

Notes: Herausgeber: Maier, A. and Schirmeyer, L.

1957, *Geschichtliches Werden. Mittelstufe. I Band: Geschichte des Altertums*, 4 edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg.

Approved in: 1959 1964 1968

Notes: Auf der Grundlage von Ebner- Habisreutinger; Neubearbeitet von Hans Strohm.

1953, *Geschichtliches Werden. Mittelstufe. II. Band: Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ? edn, C.C. Buchners Verlag, Bamberg.

Approved in: 1959 1964 1968 1971

Notes: Auf der Grundlage von Ebner-Habisreutinger; Neubearbeitet von Friedrich Rummel.

Ebner, F. 1956, *Geschichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten, Mittelstufe. Band I: Geschichte des Altertums* Verlag Dr. Martin Lurz, München.

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Ebner, F., Heydenaber, H., & Stadler, H. 1956, *Geschichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten. Mittelstufe. II. Band: Mittelalter*, 1? edn, Verlag M. Lurz, München.

Keywords: 1959/1964

Notes: Herausgeber: Franz Ebner.

Eggerer, W. & Rohnert, E. T. 1954, *Geschichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten. Mittelstufe. I Beiheft. Sagen des Altertums* Verlag M. Lurz, München.
Approved in: 1964
Notes: Herausgegeben von F. Ebner.

**Karell, V. 1959, *Geschichte des Altertums für vierstufige Mittel- und Realschulen. Ein Lehr-, Lern- und Arbeitsbuch*, 1? edn, Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, München.
Approved in: 1964/1968**

**Karell, V. 1960, *Geschichte des Mittelalters für vierstufige Mittelschulen und Realschulen. Ein Lehr-, Lern- und Arbeitsbuch*, 1? edn, Bayerischer Schulbuchverlag, München.
Approved in: 1960/1964/1968**

1960s:

1961, *Altertum und Mittelalter* Blutenburg-Verlag; Ferdinand Schöningh, München; Paderborn.
Notes: Bearbeitet von Max Lachner. Not sure when this book was used. Availability: photocopy

**Lachner, M. & Riedmiller, K. 1967, *Altertum - Band I*, 1 edn, Blutenburg-Verlag; Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, München; Paderborn.
Approved in: 1968/1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981
Notes: Riedmiller.**

**Lachner, M. & Riedmiller, K. 1967, *Mittelalter - Band II*. Blutenburg-Verlag; Ferdinand Schöningh, München; Paderborn.
Approved in: 1968/1971/1974/1975/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1981/1982/1983
Notes: Bearbeitet von Kornelius Riedmiller und Max Lachner.**

Muggenthaler, H. 1968, *Geschichte für Realschulen. Erster Band. Altertum* Kösel-Verlag, München.
Approved in: 1960 1968 1971 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979
Notes: Bearbeitet von Hannah Marks. ***

Muggenthaler, H. 1970, *Geschichte für Realschulen. Zweiter Band. Mittelalter* Kösel-Verlag, München.
Approved in: 1971 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979
Notes: Bearbeitet von Otto Epp.

1968, *Spiegel der Zeiten - Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht. Ausgabe B. Band I - Von der Vorzeit bis zum Ende der Alten Welt*, 1 edn, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt a.M.; Berlin; Bonn; München.
Approved in: 1974/1975/1976 1981
Notes: Herausgegeben von einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft von Geschichtslehrern. Bearbeitet von Franz Bahl.

Busley, H. 1971, *Spiegel der Zeiten - Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht. Ausgabe C. Band 2: von Justinian bis zum Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 2 edn, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt a.M.; Berlin; München.
Approved in: 1971/1974/1974?/1975/1975?/1976/1977/1978/1979/1980/1982/1983

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1970s:

Steinbügl, E. & Schreiegg, A. 1971, *Geschichte. Band I. Altertum*, 1 edn, R. Oldenbourg, München.
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Section Two

Quantitative Curriculum Analysis: Definition of Categories

1. Periods

Prehistory: This category incorporates all of the topics that deal with prehistory in the widest sense – here defined as: before the emergence of writing and/or before intense/regular contact with literate societies. Note: it is sometimes difficult to distinguish/draw a line between this and other categories concerned with ancient history – decisions are made separately for each topic.

The Ancient Civilisations of the East: This category incorporates all the topics that deal with the ancient Middle East, ancient Egypt and ancient Asia.

Ancient Greece: This category incorporates all the topics that deal with the history of Greece – from the Minoan civilisation to the collapse of Alexander's empire.

Roman Period/Contemporary Late Iron Age: This category/period incorporates all of the topics that deal with Roman history directly as well as those that are concerned with the history of any area/territory that was part of the Roman Empire. Additionally, this category encompasses topics that deal with the history of areas and peoples which were not actually occupied by the Romans but lived on the borders of the Roman Empire/were in close contact with the Romans. The division of the Roman Empire is used as the cut-off point between this category and 'Migration/Medieval Period'.

Migration/Medieval Period: This category encompasses all of the topics that deal with history from the division of the Roman Empire to approximately 1500 AD.

The Early Modern Period (from c. 1500 to c. 1900): This category incorporates topics that deal with history from approximately 1500 to c. 1900. No particular event is used as the cut-off point – the categorisation of individual topics depends on the context.

The Modern Period (from c. 1900 to the Present): This category incorporates all of those events that deal with history from c.1900 to the present.

Other: This category incorporates all of the topics that do not fit into any of the other categories/periods. It also includes any overlapping topics as well as introductions to historical methods, introductions to chronology and discussions on the nature of historical/archaeological sources.

2. Areas

Local History:

FRG curricula

The category 'local history' refers to the history of the province for which the curriculum was designed (i.e. in the context of the thesis 'local history' can only ever mean Bavarian or Saxon history). Consequently, Bavarian history is only categorised as 'local history' if it is mentioned in a *Bavarian* curriculum. It is important to note that cases which deal with the history of provinces that are not subject of this study (for example Prussia) fall into the category 'German history'.

To elaborate: curriculum topics only fall into the category 'local history' if the teaching of provincial history is either specified or if topics are concerned with events or people/peoples particular to one the respective provinces (for example, the reign of the Wittelsbacher is obviously Bavarian history, without the curriculum having to specify that it is). It is important to note that those topics which deal with historical events that affected the whole country are only categorised as 'local history' (or 'German and local history') if there is special reference to the local area; if this is not the case the topics fall in to the category 'German history'.

GDR

Because education was centrally organised in the GDR categorisation was approached slightly differently. Basically, central organisation means that the history curricula were not designed for and published by the individual provinces but by a central educational body. Consequently, topics dealing with Saxon history, for example, were not specifically aimed at Saxon schoolchildren but at all East German children. They can thus not be treated as 'local history'; instead only those topics are categorised as 'local history' which specify the teaching of *local* history or the use of *local* examples.

German History:

Defining criteria for the category 'German history' is difficult. One of the major problems is the fact that 'Germany' is not a naturally defined entity; it is impossible to apply 'objective' geographical criteria to the definition of 'Germany' – and by extension of 'German history'. Furthermore, it is impossible to define 'German history' on the basis of the political boundaries of the country. This is partly because there was no German state before the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire in 962 AD (and even this starting-point of a 'German' unit can be disputed – many would argue that we can not speak of 'Germany' before 1871); and partly because the boundaries of 'Germany' have changed a great deal over time.

It is thus argued that a definition of the category 'German history' must be based on different criteria for individual periods of 'German history'. This leads to the following definitions:

- For the period before the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire in 962 AD, all historical events/people/peoples are categorised as ‘German history’ that either took place on the territory that is Germany at the time the curriculum is written (assuming that the modern political boundaries represent the understanding of what is ‘Germany’ at the time. NB: for the time of the divided Germany – the territory of both states will be treated as Germany) or that are specifically referred to as ‘German’.
- For the period of the Holy Roman Empire all those historical events/groups/people will be categorised as ‘German history’ that are either specifically referred to as ‘German’ or that deal with events/groups/people that take place/live in the area that is Germany at the time the curriculum is written. However, those topics which concern the whole of the Holy Roman Empire or which do not specify events/groups/people within a particular area of the empire are classified as ‘German and European history’ (see below); these may include topics like ‘the Staufer emperors’, ‘struggles between emperor and pope’ etc.
- For the period after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire until the foundation of the Bismarck Reich all those historical events/people are categorised as ‘German history’ that were members of the German Bund (1815-1866). Although the German Bund was not a nation-state - in fact it can be argued that it reinforced German fragmentation (*‘Partikularismus’*) -, it is an indicator for which areas were treated/considered as ‘German’ in the 19th Century. It is worth mentioning that this definition of ‘German history’ includes Austria. This can be justified in the light of the fact that until the foundation of the Bismarck Reich in 1871 the ‘German question’ was largely influenced by/and always viewed in the context of Prussian-Austrian dualism. According to this definition Austria stops being part of ‘German history’ when the German national question is finally decided in 1871 in favour of the ‘small-German solution’ (not including Austria).
- From 1871 a political definition of Germany is possible. Please note, that the history of both the FRG and the GDR are both be categorised as ‘German history’.

European history:

Defining criteria for the category ‘European history’ is more straight-forward than the definition of ‘German history’: it is roughly based on the geographical boundaries of the European continent. However, such a categorisation does raise certain problems when applied to historical events, peoples and states/empires: these don’t always adhere to the geographical boundaries/are not always easily split into one category or another. This problem is especially apparent in the following two cases:

1. Overlaps often occur in accounts of colonisation and empires. In many cases, for example, the ‘Motherland’ is in Europe whereas the colonies are on another continent. In these cases, events/people that are mostly concerned with the ‘home country/state/city’ fall into the category ‘European history’; whereas events/people that deal specifically with colonies or with the relationship between the colonies and the ‘motherland’ are categorised as ‘European and world history’. To name the most frequent examples: Greek colonisation, the

Hellenistic Empire, the Roman Empire and the European Empires of the 19th and 20th century.

2. In some cases the political borders of the countries cut across the continental borders. In these instances decisions have been made on a combination of factors: which continent/cultural sphere these countries are assigned to in the curricula, how they see themselves and how they are generally perceived. The two most important examples are Russia, which will be included in the category 'European history' and Turkey, which will be included in the category 'world history'.

World history:

The category 'world history' includes the history from all continents that are not Europe. As mentioned above, in some cases it is impossible to draw a clear line between the categories 'European history' and 'world history'. The Ottoman Empire is the most frequently cited example; in accordance to the principles outlined in the previous section, it will be categorised as 'world history' because its centre is not in Europe. However, in cases where the curricula specify the teaching of the European 'provinces' and/or the relationships between the 'European provinces' and the Ottomans the topics will be categorised as 'European and world history'.

Local and German history:

This category incorporates all those topics which deal with the relationship between the local area and Germany as a whole; for instance 'the *Gleichschaltung* (bringing into line) of the *Länder* (provinces) and its impact on Bavaria'. Additionally, those topics which deal with a historical event by using 'local' and 'German' examples may be categorised as 'Local and German history'. One example would be 'Absolutism in Bavaria and Prussia'.

Local and European history:

The category 'local and European history' includes all of those topics that deal with both the local area and its European neighbours or with relationships between the two.

German and European history:

This category includes three different kinds of topics:

1. those that deal with both 'German' and 'European' history, for example 'the rise of fascist regimes in Italy and Germany'.

2. those topics that are concerned with relationships and/or conflicts between Germany and other European 'countries', for instance 'contacts between the Romans and the Germanic tribes', 'Blitzkrieg' and 'the founding of the EEC'.
3. those historical periods that can neither geographically nor politically be separated into either 'German' or 'European history'. The two most important and most frequent examples are:

- the Frank Empire (most frequently mentioned with reference to Charlemagne), which extended over much of Western Europe – including parts of modern-day Germany.
- The Holy Roman Empire. The reasons for including this period in the category 'German and European history' are not only geographical (the Holy Roman Empire extended over most of the territory of modern-day Germany as well as large parts of Europe) but also political: first, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire did not necessarily have to be 'German' (as can be demonstrated by the examples Alfonso of Castile and Charles V). Second, even those emperors who were 'German' were often very much 'European' in their outlook and ways of living, for example the Staufer emperors, like Barbarossa, grew up in Italy and probably spoke Italian as their first language. Third, much of the politics of the Holy Roman Empire was heavily influenced not only by the emperor but also by the pope (in Rome and/or Avignon). Fourth, there was no clear and/or stable 'German' political centre or capital of the empire – for example, Prague acted as the capital of the empire at one point. Fifth, much of the politics was influenced by the aim to preserve the power-balance in Europe.

However, this is not to imply that all events/people that took place/lived within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire are automatically be categorised as 'German and European history': the exception are those topics which specify the teaching of the history of a particular area (rather than dealing with events and groups that effected/existed in the whole of the empire); in these cases, categorisations are based on the principles outlined in the sections 'local history', 'German history' and 'European history'. For example 'the development of the city of Nürnberg' would be categorised as 'local history' (if it appears in a Bavarian curriculum) whereas 'the German Peasants' riots' would be included in the category 'German history'.

European and world history:

This category includes all those topics that deal with either 'European' and 'world' history (for example 'Socialist/communist revolutions in Russia and China') or that deal with relationships/conflicts between a European 'country'/'countries' and a 'country'/'countries' from another continent/continents (this includes the relationship between 'Motherland' and 'colonies' as has been outlined in previous sections).

German, European and world history:

This category incorporates all those topics that either concern all three areas or that deal with relationships and/or conflicts between them, for example 'WWI'.

Local, German, European and world history (All):

Again, this category includes all those topics which concern all areas or that deal with relationships and/or conflicts between them.

Unspecified:

The category 'unspecified' includes to all those topics that either do not specify which area of the world they deal with and/or where this does not become clear from the historical context – for instance, 'the Neolithic revolution' is an example of an 'unspecified' topic. Furthermore, all those topics that deal with subjects which are not specific/ particular to a certain area/place in the world but deal with general phenomena/movements/ideas are also included in this category (for example topics such as 'democracy' or 'the industrial revolution').

Section Three

Recording Sheet Templates

1. Curriculum Analysis
2. Schoolbook Analysis

Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Categorisation of Curriculum Topics

Area/Period:	Date of curriculum:
Type of School:	Period of use:
Reference:	School year/year of history education:
Notes:	Number of topics:
Total number of hrs:	

Summary/periods:

Other:			Prehistory:		
ACE:			Ancient Greece:		
Ancient Rome:			Medieval:		
Early Modern:			Modern:		

Summary/areas:

Local history:			German & European history:		
German history:			European & world history:		
European history:			German & world history:		
World history:			German, European and world history:		
Local & German history:			All:		
Local& European history:			Unspecified:		
Local, German and European history:					

Summary National History

National history:			Ancient:		
Non-National history:			Modern:		
Unspecified:			Other:		

Other:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Prehistory:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Ancient civilisations of the East:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Ancient Greece:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Ancient Rome:

Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Medieval Period:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Early Modern period:

Modern period:

Local history:		German & European history:	
German history:		European & world history:	
European history:		German & world history:	
World history:		German, European and world history:	
Local & German history:		All:	
Local& European history:		Unspecified:	
Local, German and European history:		Total number of topics:	

Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Quantitative Analysis: 1950s Curriculum (Year 8 to 10)

Periods: Total, National History, Non-National History and Unspecified

	%age of total	%age National	%age Non-national	%age Unspecified
Other				
Prehistory				
ACE				
Ancient Greece				
Rome				
Medieval				
Early				
Modern				

Areas: Total, Ancient History, Non-Ancient History and Other

	%age of total	%age Ancient	%age Non-ancient	%age Other
L history				
G&E history				
G history				
E&W history				
E history				
G&W history				
W history				
G,E&W history				
L&G history				
All				
L&E history				
Unspecified				
L,G&E history				

Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Total: Ancient History, Non-Ancient History and Other

Ancient history	
Non-ancient history	
Other	

Total: National History, Non-National History and Unspecified

National history	
Non-national history	
Unspecified	

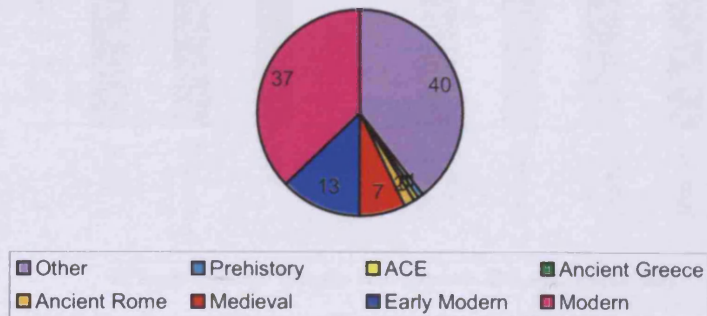
Summary: Areas vs. Periods

	Ancient history	Non-ancient history	Other
National history			
Non-national history			
Unspecified			

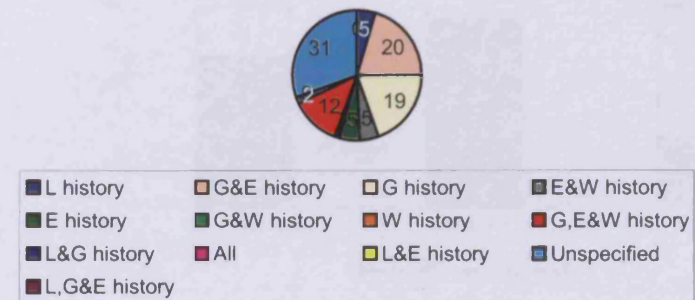
Area Date

Curriculum Details

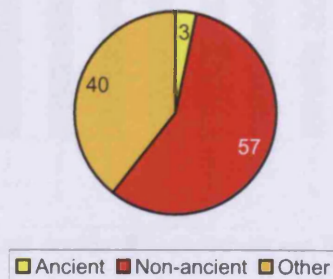
FORMATTING PERIODS



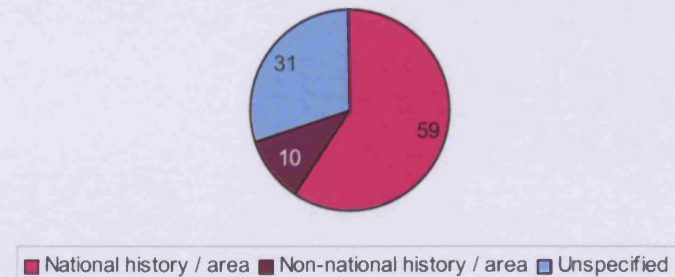
FORMATTING AREAS



FORMATTING ANCIENT VS. NON-ANCIENT HISTORY / PERIODS

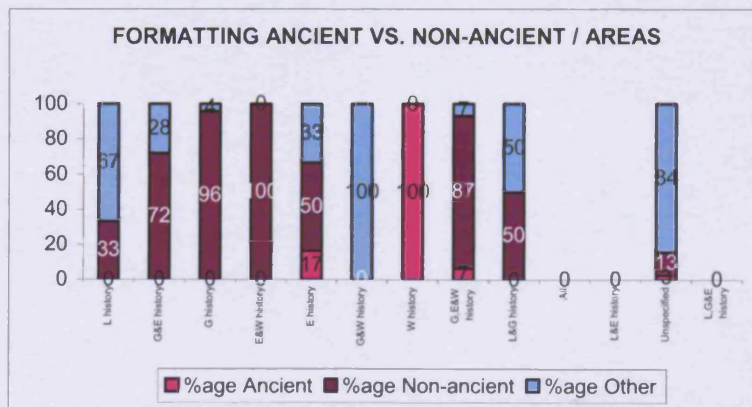
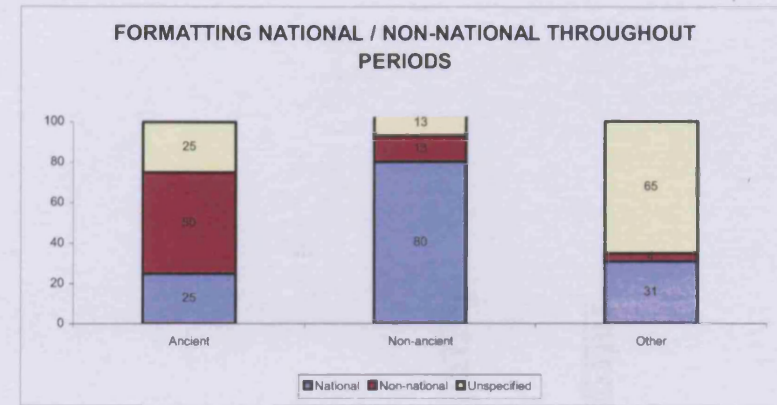
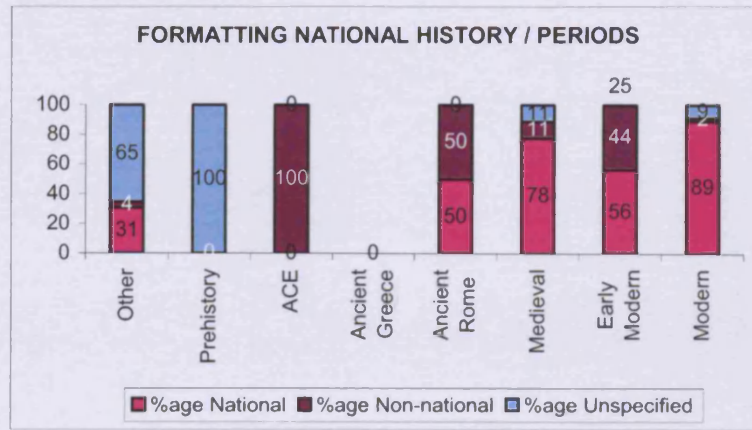


FORMATTING NATIONAL VS. NON-NATIONAL HISTORY / AREAS



Area Date

Curriculum Details



Recording Sheet Curriculum Analysis

Area Date

Curriculum Details

Introductory Section: Notes

Introductory Section: Quotes

Recording Sheet Schoolbook Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

Quotes

Introductory/Aims and Objectives sections in educational media – what is being said about the past and its relationship with the present?

Do the schoolbooks explain why history/the ‘ancient past’ is taught, why it is considered important? Is the past/history education explicitly linked to the students’ historical consciousness and sense of national identity?

Do the schoolbooks state how the three temporal dimensions are believed to be connected? If so, what does tell us about the historical consciousness promoted in the books?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Content/‘Building-blocks’ of historical narratives – what are the historical narratives about?

Which historical periods do the schoolbooks focus on? How are the different historical periods presented in the textbooks and how are they incorporated in the historical narrative?

What role is ascribed ‘national history’/‘non-national history’ in the schoolbooks?

Which types of history do the schoolbooks focus on?

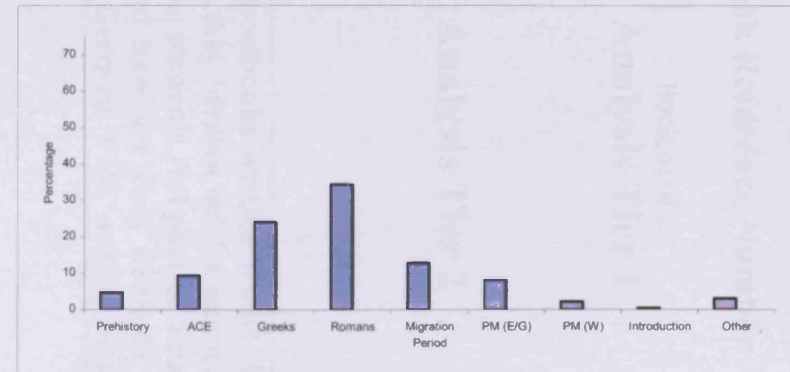
Quantitative Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

	Prehistory			ACE			Greeks			Romans			MP			PM (E/G)			PM (W)			Introduction			Other			Entire Book		
	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL	COUNT	PERIOD	OVERALL
Rulers / Politicians																														
Revolutionaries																														
Military Figures																														
Cultural / Religious																														
Other																														
Total	0																													

	Total Pages:	
	PAGES	PERCENTAGE
Prehistory		
ACE		
Greeks		
Romans		
Migration Period		
PM (E/G)		
PM (W)		
Introduction		
Other		
Total		



Recording Sheet Schoolbook Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Whose perspective are the schoolbooks written from? Are students made to feel part of a particular group/are they 'drawn into' a particular group? Do the books use 'homeland deixies' to make students feel part of a particular group? Who are the 'in'- and 'out-groups' and how are they defined? How does this relate of German national identity, the German 'Volk' and/or country?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Do the books deal with the legacy of the 'ancient past'? If so, how? Who (which group) is portrayed as he heirs of the legacy of the 'ancient past'? Whose past/heritage is it and to whom does it matter? What does the legacy of the 'ancient past' consist of? How is the 'ancient past' made relevant to modern life, which aspects of modern life are thought to be affected by the 'ancient past'? To what extent is the 'ancient past' made relevant to modern life in Germany/the modern Germans?

Analysis Tier 1

Recording Sheet Schoolbook Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

Analysis Tier 2

Do the schoolbooks provide any guidance, any particularly strong positive or negative examples? What messages and values are communicated in the books?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

How do the textbooks deal with and evaluate 'groups', 'group-affiliations', identities, forms of socio-political organisation and nations – generally and in relation to German history in particular?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

How do the books deal with states? Do the books present students with an overview/an introduction to different political systems? Do the authors explain how different states are administered, how they operate? Are these judged/evaluated – i.e. do the authors explain to students what they believe makes a good state and what does not, what strengthens and what weakens states?

Recording Sheet Schoolbook Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

How do the schoolbooks deal with the 'homeland'? In particular, how is the German' landscape and homeland is presented the schoolbooks? Do the books promote an attachment to the German homeland? And, if so how is this done?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Is history taught in chronological order? If not, how is it taught?

How do the textbooks portray historical processes and dynamics?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Are there any references to the present (or the future)? If so, in which contexts do they appear and what purposes do they serve? Do they tell us anything about the way the three temporal dimensions are connected?

Recording Sheet Schoolbook Analysis

Book Reference Number

Book details

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Do students learn about the work with historical sources? Is history presented as fact?

Analysis Tier 1

Analysis Tier 2

Section Four

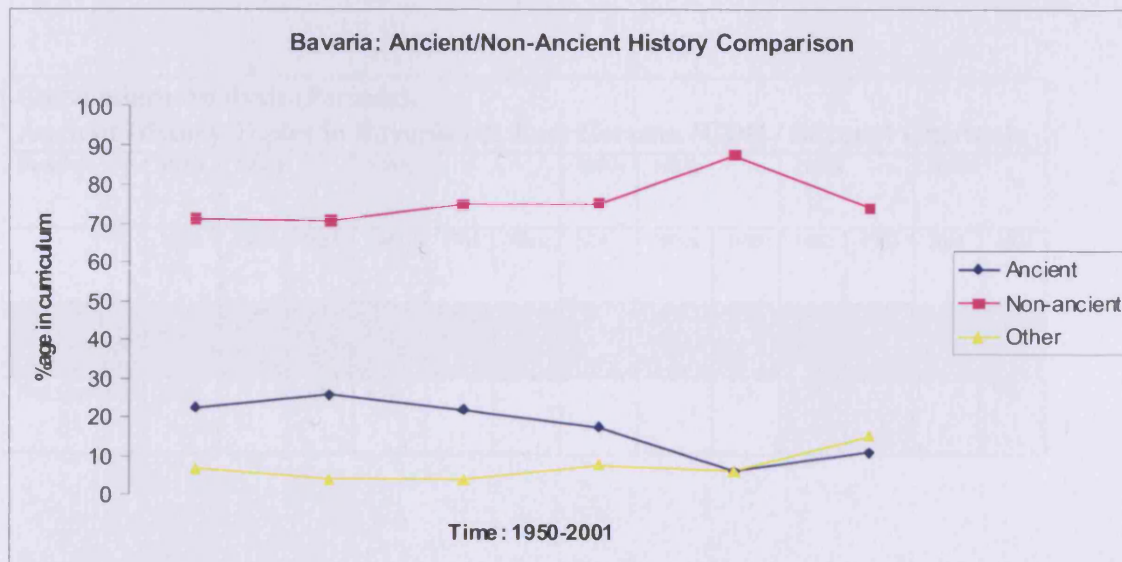
Public Sphere: Quantitative Data – Tables and Figures

Table Group 1

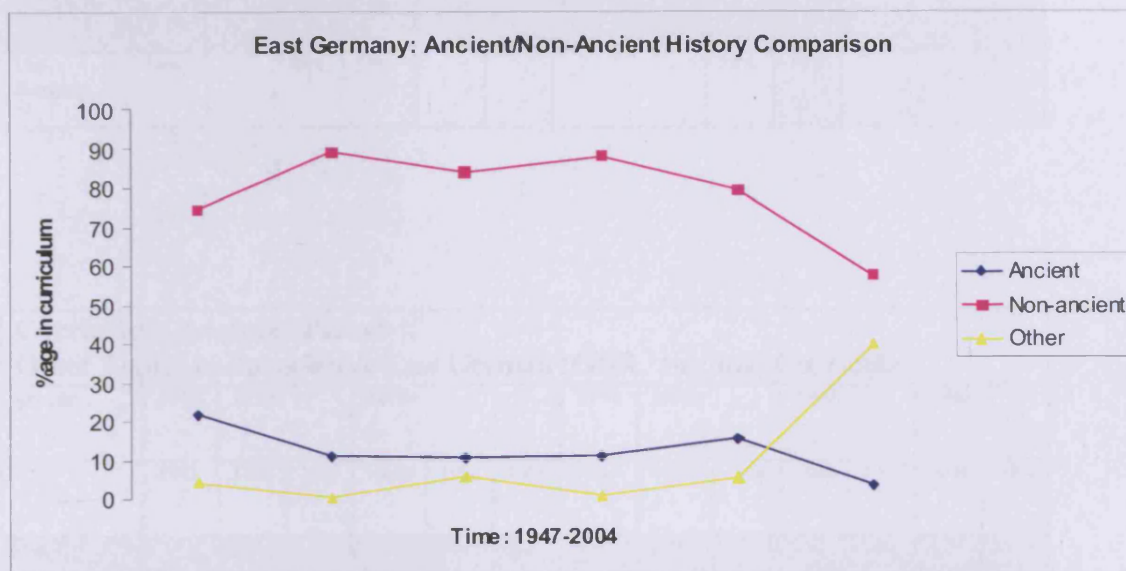
Refers to: Question II.1.1. – What role is ascribed is to ‘ancient’/‘non-ancient’ history? To what extent do different periods feature in the historical narrative? How are the different periods incorporated into the historical narrative?

Curricula

Curriculum Analysis: Ancient / Non-ancient history (Bavaria)						
	1950	1961	1969	1980s	1993	2001
Ancient	22%	26%	22%	17%	6%	11%
Non-ancient	71%	71%	75%	75%	88%	74%
Other	7%	4%	4%	8%	6%	15%



Curriculum Analysis: Ancient / Non-ancient history (GDR / Saxony)						
	1947	1955	1960s	1988	1992	2004
Ancient	22%	11%	11%	11%	15%	3%
Non-ancient	74%	89%	84%	88%	79%	57%
Other	4%	0%	6%	1%	5%	40%



Curriculum Analysis (Periods): Ancient History Topics in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		22%			26%	22%		17%			6%	11%	
East Germany	22%		11%	11%					11%	15%			3%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods): Non-ancient History Topics in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		71%			71%	75%		75%			88%	74%	
East Germany	74%		89%	84%					88%	79%			57%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods): Other Topics in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		7%			4%	4%		8%			6%	15%	
East Germany	4%		0%	6%					1%	5%			40%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods): Prehistory in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		1%			4%	2%		1%			0%	1%	
East Germany	4%		5%	4%					4%	2%			1%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):
Ancient Civilizations of the East in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony)
Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		1%			1%	2%		1%			3%	1%	
East Germany	3%		0%	2%					2%	3%			1%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):
Ancient Greece in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Ancient Greece in Bavaria and East Germany (DDR/Saxony) Calendar													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		7%	0%		6%	6%		4%			4%	4%	
East Germany	4%			1%					1%	5%			0%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):
Ancient Rome in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		14%			15%	11%		12%			3%	4%	
East Germany	10%		6%	4%					4%	5%			2%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):
Medieval in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		20%			23%	26%		28%			8%	15%	
East Germany	15%		15%	13%					11%	16%			7%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):

Early Modern in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		40%			23%	26%		22%			30%	25%	
East Germany	32%		35%	31%					25%	30%			13%

Curriculum Analysis (Periods):

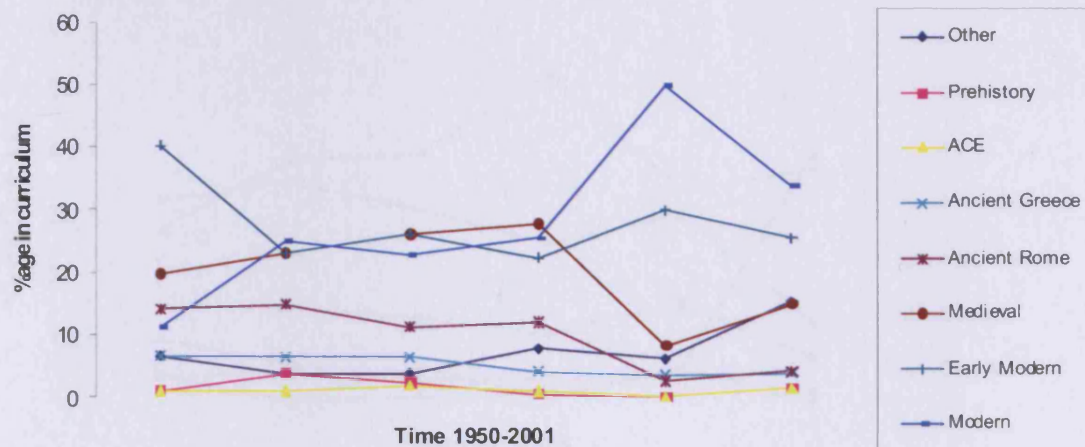
Modern in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		11%			25%	23%		25%			50%	34%	
East Germany	27%		39%	39%					52%	34%			37%

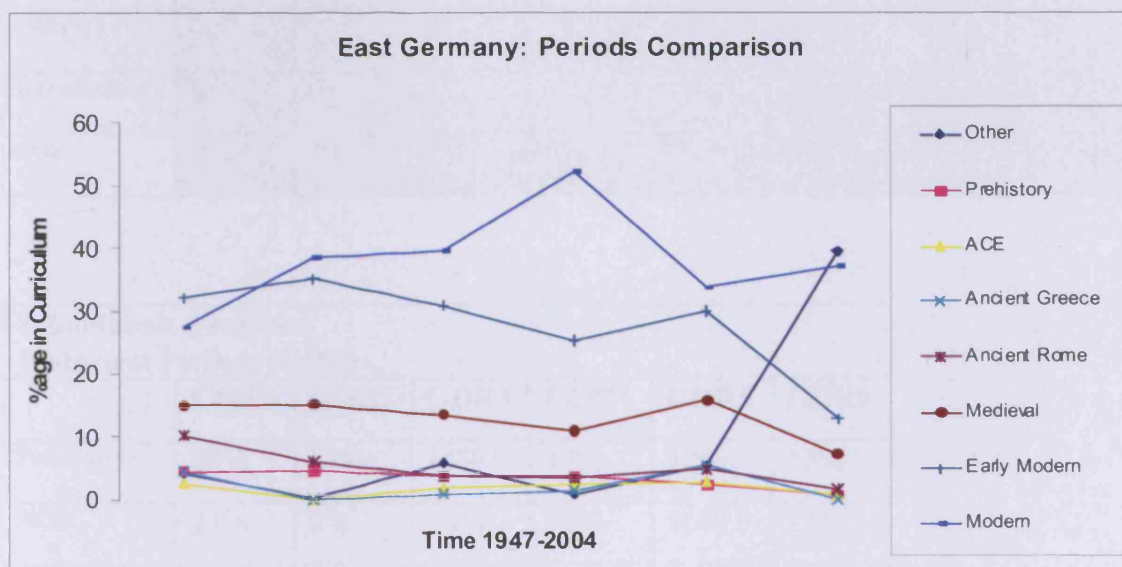
**Curriculum Analysis:
Historical Periods (Bavaria)**

	1950	1961	1969	1980s	1993	2001
Other	7%	4%	4%	8%	6%	15%
Prehistory	1%	4%	2%	1%	0%	1%
ACE	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%
Ancient Greece	7%	6%	6%	4%	4%	4%
Ancient Rome	14%	15%	11%	12%	3%	4%
Medieval	20%	23%	26%	28%	8%	15%
Early Modern	40%	23%	26%	22%	30%	25%
Modern	11%	25%	23%	25%	50%	34%

Bavaria: Periods Comparison



Curriculum Analysis: Historical Periods (GDR / Saxony)						
	1947	1955	1960s	1988	1992	2004
Other	4%	0%	6%	1%	5%	40%
Prehistory	4%	5%	4%	4%	2%	1%
ACE	3%	0%	2%	2%	3%	1%
Ancient Greece	4%	0%	1%	1%	5%	0%
Ancient Rome	10%	6%	4%	4%	5%	2%
Medieval	15%	15%	13%	11%	16%	7%
Early Modern	32%	35%	31%	25%	30%	13%
Modern	27%	39%	39%	52%	34%	37%



Schoolbooks

Schoolbook Analysis: Historical Periods (Bavaria)								
	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8
Prehistory	0%	5%	3%	4%	5%	7%	0%	13%
ACE	7%	10%	11%	11%	9%	10%	0%	13%
Greeks	40%	24%	21%	21%	23%	22%	32%	16%
Romans	53%	35%	36%	32%	31%	34%	40%	25%
Migration Period	1%	13%	7%	4%	4%	2%	4%	3%
PM (E/G)	0%	8%	14%	19%	16%	13%	16%	12%
PM (W)	0%	2%	2%	2%	7%	7%	5%	3%
Introduction	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%	6%
Other	0%	3%	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%	9%

Schoolbook Analysis: Historical Periods (GDR)						
	GDR1	GDR2	GDR3	GDR4	GDR5	GDR6
Prehistory	20%	27%	14%	13%	12%	13%
ACE	23%	0%	16%	17%	16%	14%
Greeks	22%	0%	17%	10%	10%	11%
Romans	16%	30%	28%	23%	24%	20%
Migration Period	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%	2%
PM (E/G)	8%	39%	20%	15%	16%	26%
PM (W)	1%	0%	0%	10%	13%	5%
Introduction	3%	0%	0%	5%	0%	2%
Other	6%	4%	5%	6%	6%	7%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
Historical Periods (Saxony)**

	S1	S1
Prehistory	20%	13%
ACE	14%	16%
Greeks	17%	19%
Romans	20%	20%
Migration Period	3%	3%
PM (E/G)	8%	9%
PM (W)	3%	9%
Introduction	6%	4%
Other	9%	8%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
Prehistory**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	0%	20%
B/GDR2	5%	27%
B/GDR3	3%	14%
B/GDR4	4%	13%
B/GDR5	5%	12%
B/GDR6	7%	13%
B7/S1	0%	20%
B8/S2	13%	13%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
ACE**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	7%	23%
B/GDR2	10%	0%
B/GDR3	11%	16%
B/GDR4	11%	17%
B/GDR5	9%	16%
B/GDR6	10%	14%
B7/S1	0%	14%
B8/S2	13%	16%

Schoolbook Analysis:**Greeks**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	40%	22%
B/GDR2	24%	0%
B/GDR3	21%	17%
B/GDR4	21%	10%
B/GDR5	23%	10%
B/GDR6	22%	11%
B7/S1	32%	17%
B8/S2	16%	19%

Schoolbook Analysis:**Romans**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	53%	16%
B/GDR2	35%	30%
B/GDR3	36%	28%
B/GDR4	32%	23%
B/GDR5	31%	24%
B/GDR6	34%	20%
B7/S1	40%	20%
B8/S2	25%	20%

Schoolbook Analysis:**Migration Period**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	1%	1%
B/GDR2	13%	0%
B/GDR3	7%	1%
B/GDR4	4%	1%
B/GDR5	4%	2%
B/GDR6	2%	2%
B7/S1	4%	3%
B8/S2	3%	3%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
PM (E/G)**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	0%	8%
B/GDR2	8%	39%
B/GDR3	14%	20%
B/GDR4	19%	15%
B/GDR5	16%	16%
B/GDR6	13%	26%
B7/S1	16%	8%
B8/S2	12%	9%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
PM (W)**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	0%	1%
B/GDR2	2%	0%
B/GDR3	2%	0%
B/GDR4	2%	10%
B/GDR5	7%	13%
B/GDR6	7%	5%
B7/S1	5%	3%
B8/S2	3%	9%

**Schoolbook Analysis:
Introduction**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	0%	3%
B/GDR2	0%	0%
B/GDR3	1%	0%
B/GDR4	1%	5%
B/GDR5	1%	0%
B/GDR6	2%	2%
B7/S1	0%	6%
B8/S2	6%	4%

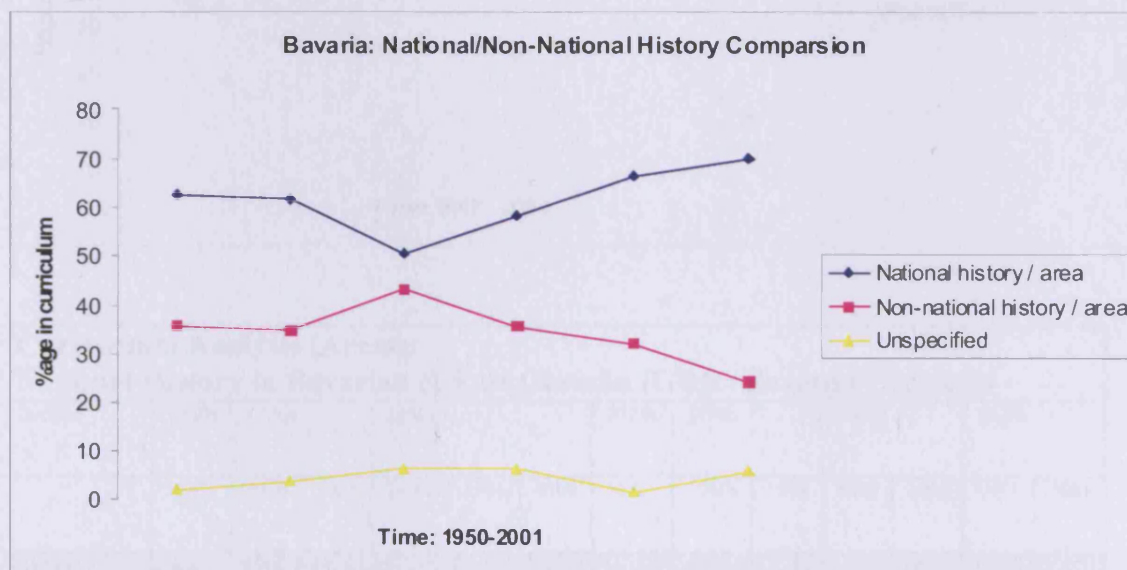
Schoolbook Analysis:**Other**

Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	0%	6%
B/GDR2	3%	4%
B/GDR3	5%	5%
B/GDR4	5%	6%
B/GDR5	5%	6%
B/GDR6	3%	7%
B7/S1	4%	9%
B8/S2	9%	8%

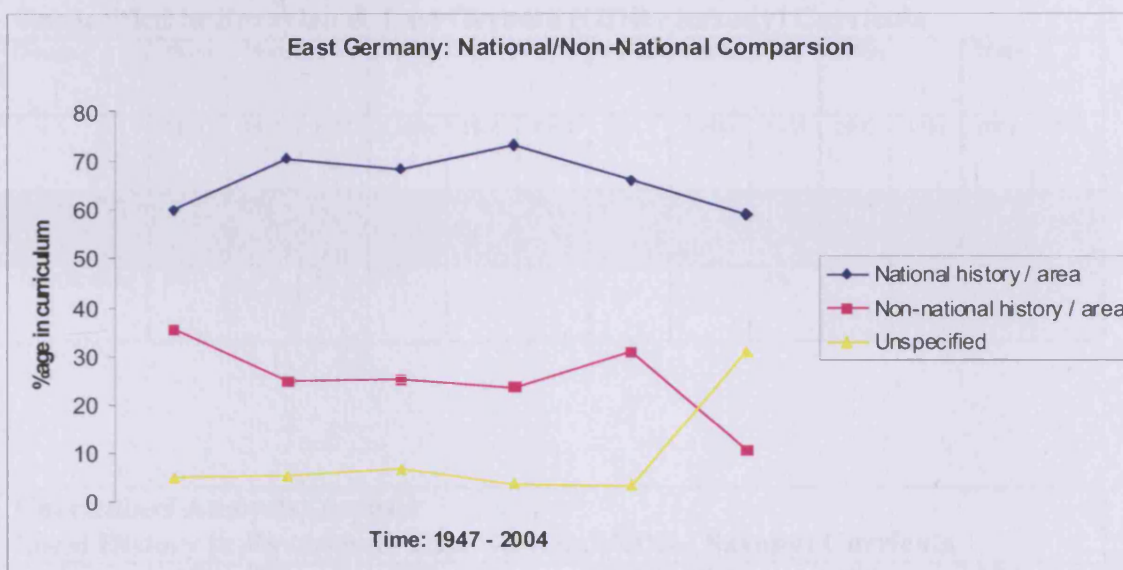
Table Group 2

Refers to: Question II.1.2. – To what extent is ‘national history’ covered in the curricula? Furthermore, to what extent does ‘non-national history’ feature in the historical narrative? Does globalisation and ‘post-nationalism’ have an impact on the historical narrative that is being constructed in the curricula?

Curriculum Analysis: National / Non-national history (Bavaria)						
	1950	1961	1969	1980s	1993	2001
National history / area	63%	61%	50%	58%	66%	70%
Non-national history / area	36%	35%	43%	36%	32%	24%
Unspecified	2%	4%	6%	6%	2%	6%



Curriculum Analysis: National / Non-national history (GDR / Saxony)						
	1947	1955	1960s	1988	1992	2004
National history / area	60%	70%	68%	73%	66%	59%
Non-national history / area	35%	25%	25%	24%	31%	10%
Unspecified	5%	5%	7%	4%	3%	31%



Curriculum Analysis (Areas): National History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		63%			61%	50%		58%			66%	70%	
East Germany	60%		70%	68%					73%	66%			59%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Non-national History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		36%			35%	43%		36%			32%	24%	
East Germany	35%		25%	25%					24%	31%			10%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Unspecified in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		2%			4%	6%		6%			2%	6%	
East Germany	5%		5%	7%					4%	3%			31%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Local History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		6%			3%	1%		6%			3%	10%	
East Germany	0%		0%	0%					0%	12%			5%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): German & European History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		36%			39%	30%		29%			32%	32%	
East Germany	26%		33%	21%					25%	19%			20%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): German History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		10%			5%	9%		10%			15%	11%	
East Germany	23%		29%	25%					36%	12%			19%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): European & World History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		8%			9%	10%		6%			8%	7%	
East Germany	6%		4%	8%					6%	6%			5%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): European History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		23%			21%	25%		21%			18%	13%	
East Germany	24%		19%	14%					13%	17%			5%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): German & World History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		0%			0%	0%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany	1%		1%	0%					0%	0%			1%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): World History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		4%			5%	9%		8%			7%	4%	
East Germany	5%		2%	3%					5%	7%			1%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): German, European & World History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		11%			11%	9%		9%			13%	14%	
East Germany	10%		8%	21%					11%	14%			12%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Local & German History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		0%			1%	0%		1%			1%	0%	
East Germany	0%		0%	0%					0%	4%			2%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): All in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		0%			1%	0%		0%			0%	1%	
East Germany	0%		0%	0%					0%	1%			0%

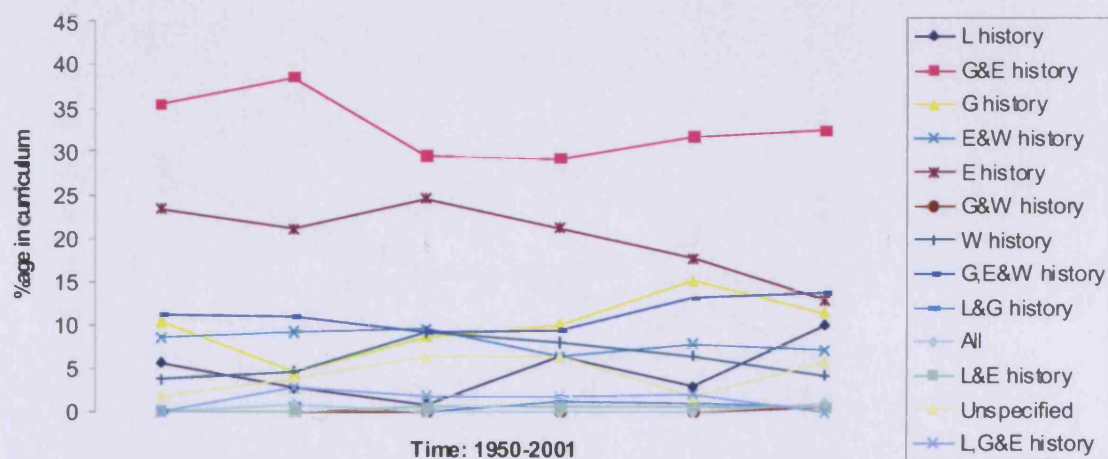
Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Local & European History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		0%			0%	0%		1%			1%	0%	
East Germany	0%		0%	0%					0%	2%			0%

Curriculum Analysis (Areas): Local, German & European History in Bavarian & East German (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria		0%			3%	2%		2%			2%	0%	
East Germany	0%		0%	1%					0%	2%			0%

**Curriculum Analysis:
Historical Areas (Bavaria)**

	1950	1961	1969	1980s	1993	2001
Local history	6	3	1	6	3	10
German & European history	36	39	30	29	32	32
German history	10	5	9	10	15	11
European & World history	8	9	10	6	8	7
European history	23	21	25	21	18	13
German & World history	0	0	0	0	0	0
World history	4	5	9	8	7	4
German, European & World history	11	11	9	9	13	14
Local & German history	0	1	0	1	1	0
All	0	1	0	0	0	1
Local & European history	0	0	0	1	1	0
Unspecified	2	4	6	6	2	6
Local, German & European history	0	3	2	2	2	0

Bavaria: Areas Comparison



**Curriculum Analysis:
Historical Areas (GDR / Saxony)**

	1947	1955	1960s	1988	1992	2004
Local history	0%	0%	0%	0%	12%	5%
German & European history	26%	33%	21%	25%	19%	20%
German history	23%	29%	25%	36%	12%	19%
European & World history	6%	4%	8%	6%	6%	5%
European history	24%	19%	14%	13%	17%	5%
German & World history	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
World history	5%	2%	3%	5%	7%	1%
German, European & World history	10%	8%	21%	11%	14%	12%
Local & German history	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	2%
All	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Local & European history	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%
Unspecified	5%	5%	7%	4%	3%	31%
Local, German & European history	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	0%

East Germany: Areas Comparison

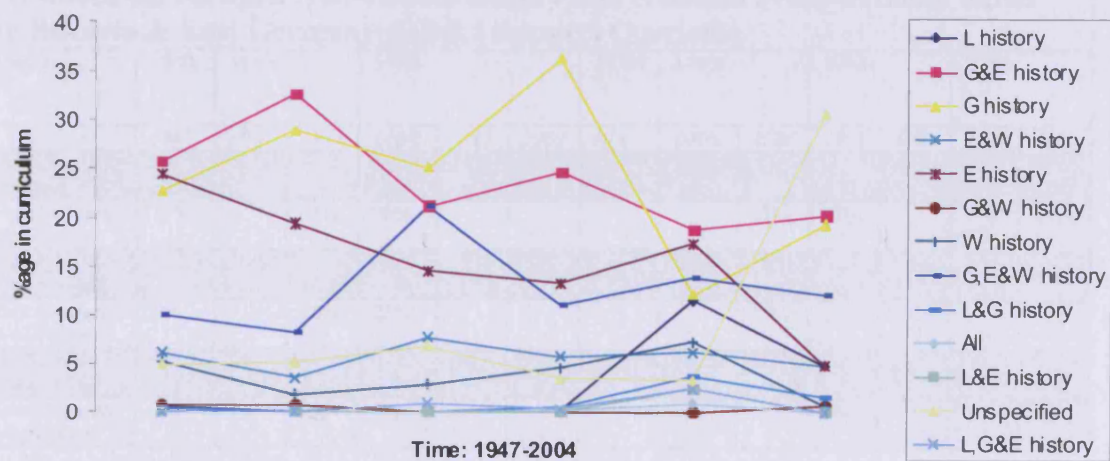


Table Group 3

Refers to: Question II.1.3. – How do the results of II.1.1. and section II.1.2. relate to each other – which historical periods feature in the ‘national narrative’? To what extent is the ‘ancient past’ taught in conjunction with ‘national history’?

Note: Not all percentages add-up to 100 because of rounding up.

Curriculum Analysis: Relationship between Ancient history and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		13%			25%	10%		15%			5%	13%	
East Germany: National	24%		25%	18%					12%	9%			25%
Bavaria: Non-national		88%			64%	81%		80%			95%	78%	
East Germany: Non-National	61%		31%	45%					68%	78%			50%
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			11%	8%		5%			0%	9%	
East Germany: Unspecified	15%		44%	36%					21%	13%			25%

Curriculum Analysis: Relationship between Non-ancient history and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		79%			75%	63%		70%			69%	74%	
East Germany: National	70%		75%	76%					81%	77%			80%
Bavaria: Non-national		20%			25%	32%		29%			29%	21%	
East Germany: Non-National	30%		25%	23%					18%	22%			13%
Bavaria: Unspecified		1%			0%	5%		1%			2%	5%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		0%	1%					1%	1%			7%

Curriculum Analysis:

Relationship between Other history and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		57%			50%	38%		41%			84%	91%	
East Germany: National	56%		67%	67%					0%	64%			31%
Bavaria: Non-national		29%			25%	38%		0%			16%	0%	
East Germany: Non-National	6%		0%	0%					50%	18%			4%
Bavaria: Unspecified		14%			25%	25%		59%			0%	9%	
East Germany: Unspecified	39%		33%	33%					50%	18%			65%

Curriculum Analysis:

Relationship between Prehistory and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		100%			25%	20%		0%			N/A	33%	
East Germany: National	26%		0%	0%					4%	20%			0%
Bavaria: Non-national		0%			0%	0%		0%			N/A	0%	
East Germany: Non-National	0%		0%	0%					35%	0%			0%
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			75%	80%		100%			N/A	67%	
East Germany: Unspecified	74%		100%	100%					62%	80%			100%

Curriculum Analysis:**Relationship between Ancient Civilisations of the East and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula**

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		0%			0%	0%		0%			N/A	0%	
East Germany: National	0%		N/A	0%					0%	0%			0%
Bavaria: Non-national		100%			100%	100%		100%			N/A	100%	
East Germany: Non-National	100%		N/A	100%					100%	100%			100%
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			0%	0%		0%			N/A	0%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		N/A	0%					0%	0%			0%

Curriculum Analysis:**Relationship between Ancient Greece and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula**

Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		0%			0%	0%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany: National	0%		N/A	0%					0%	0%			N/A
Bavaria: Non-national		100%			100%	100%		100%			100%	100%	
East Germany: Non-National	100%		N/A	100%					100%	100%			N/A
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			0%	0%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		N/A	0%					0%	0%			N/A

Curriculum Analysis:
Relationship between Ancient Rome and National / Non-national topics
in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s		1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004	
Bavaria: National		13%			38%	16%		21%			13%	22%		
East Germany: National	39%		45%	50%					32%	20%			50%	
Bavaria: Non-national		87%			63%	84%		76%			88%	78%		
East Germany: Non-National	61%		55%	50%					68%	80%			50%	
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			0%	0%		2%			0%	0%		
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		0%	0%					0%	0%			0%	

Curriculum Analysis:
Relationship between Medieval and National / Non-national topics
in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		86%			92%	79%		79%			88%	84%	
East Germany: National	80%		94%	79%					90%	82%			78%
Bavaria: Non-national		14%			8%	21%		20%			12%	16%	
East Germany: Non-National	20%		6%	21%					10%	18%			11%
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			0%	0%		1%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		0%	0%					0%	0%			11%

Curriculum Analysis:
Relationship between Early Modern and National / Non-national topics
in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		70%			64%	46%		58%			66%	70%	
East Germany: National	50%		67%	66%					76%	71%			56%
Bavaria: Non-national		28%			36%	40%		40%			34%	30%	
East Germany: Non-National	50%		33%	34%					22%	29%			44%
Bavaria: Unspecified		2%			0%	14%		3%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		0%	0%					1%	0%			0%

Curriculum Analysis: Relationship between Modern and National / Non-national topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: National		100%			70%	64%		71%			68%	73%	
East Germany: National	89%		75%	83%					82%	80%			89%
Bavaria: Non-national		0%			30%	36%		29%			28%	17%	
East Germany: Non-National	11%		24%	15%					17%	19%			2%
Bavaria: Unspecified		0%			0%	0%		0%			3%	10%	
East Germany: Unspecified	0%		0%	2%					1%	1%			9%

Curriculum Analysis: Relationship between German History & European and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		8%			12%	2%		3%			1%	0%	
East Germany: Ancient	15%		8%	5%					4%	0%			0%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		92%			83%	97%		93%			88%	82%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	82%		91%	91%					96%	100%			72%
Bavaria: Other		0%			5%	2%		4%			11%	18%	
East Germany: Other	3%		1%	5%					0%	0%			28%

Curriculum Analysis: Relationship between German History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula													
Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		0%			0%	0%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Ancient	0%		0%	0%					0%	0%			0%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		91%			100%	100%		100%			100%	92%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	97%		100%	92%					100%	96%			96%
Bavaria: Other		9%			0%	0%		0%			0%	8%	
East Germany: Other	3%		0%	8%					0%	4%			4%

Curriculum Analysis:**Relationship between European & World History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula**

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		56%			30%	48%		32%			13%	27%	
East Germany: Ancient	42%		12%	0%					8%	23%			0%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		22%			70%	52%		68%			88%	73%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	54%		88%	88%					88%	69%			100%
Bavaria: Other		22%			0%	0%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Other	4%		0%	13%					5%	8%			0%

Curriculum Analysis:**Relationship between European History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula**

Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		60%			61%	44%		51%			28%	41%	
East Germany: Ancient	35%		15%	20%					26%	42%			17%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		40%			35%	56%		49%			67%	59%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	65%		85%	80%					73%	58%			50%
Bavaria: Other		0%			4%	0%		0%			6%	0%	
East Germany: Other	0%		0%	0%					1%	0%			33%

Curriculum Analysis:**Relationship between German & World History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula**

Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A	0%	
East Germany: Ancient	0%		0%	N/A					N/A	N/A			0%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A	100%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	100%		100%	N/A					N/A	N/A			0%
Bavaria: Other		N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A	0%	
East Germany: Other	0%		0%	N/A					N/A	N/A			100%

Curriculum Analysis:

Relationship between World History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		25%			20%	25%		14%			0%	33%	
East Germany: Ancient	41%		0%	67%					81%	47%			100%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		75%			80%	60%		86%			100%	67%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	59%		100%	33%					19%	47%			0%
Bavaria: Other		0%			0%	15%		0%			0%	0%	
East Germany: Other	0%		0%	0%					0%	7%			0%

Curriculum Analysis:

Relationship between German, European & World History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s	1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s		
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		0%			8%	20%		12%			0%	3%	
East Germany: Ancient	7%		0%	5%					1%	7%			7%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		75%			92%	70%		88%			93%	79%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	84%		100%	95%	0%				99%	93%			87%
Bavaria: Other		25%				10%		0%			8%	17%	
East Germany: Other	9%		0%	0%					0%	0%			7%

Curriculum Analysis:

Relationship between Unspecified History and Ancient / Non-ancient topics in Bavaria & East Germany (GDR / Saxony) Curricula

Decade	1940s	1950s		1960s			1970s	1980s		1990s		2000s	
	1947	1950	1955	1960s	1961	1969	N/A	1980s	1988	1992	1993	2001	2004
Bavaria: Ancient		0%			75%	29%		14%			0%	17%	
East Germany: Ancient	67%		94%	57%					64%	57%			3%
Bavaria: Non-ancient		50%			0%	57%		14%			100%	58%	
East Germany: Non-ancient	0%		4%	14%					24%	14%			13%
Bavaria: Other		50%			25%	14%		73%			0%	25%	
East Germany: Other	33%		2%	29%					12%	29%			84%

Table Group 4

Refers to: Question II.1.4. – Which types of history do the schoolbooks focus on?

Schoolbook Analysis: Types of History (Bavaria)								
	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8
Economic	7%	12%	12%	12%	16%	12%	11%	12%
Political	28%	23%	25%	24%	22%	27%	33%	18%
Social	11%	8%	8%	11%	14%	9%	13%	12
Military	19%	21%	19%	18%	18%	18%	11%	9%
Revolutionary	3%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	0%	1%
Cultural / Religious	24%	24%	29%	25%	21%	24%	23%	20%
Unspecified / Other	7%	10%	6%	7%	8%	8%	10%	28%

Schoolbook Analysis: Types of History (GDR)						
	GDR1	GDR2	GDR3	GDR4	GDR5	GDR6
Economic	18%	23%	19%	19%	21%	18%
Political	16%	8%	10%	16%	11%	14%
Social	22%	28%	20%	21%	23%	19%
Military	14%	9%	14%	11%	9%	12%
Revolutionary	4%	5%	5%	5%	8%	6%
Cultural / Religious	21%	22%	25%	19%	17%	19%
Unspecified / Other	6%	7%	7%	8%	11%	12%

Schoolbook Analysis: Types of History (Saxony)		
	S1	S2
Economic	14%	11%
Political	14%	19%
Social	11%	18%
Military	12%	12%
Revolutionary	3%	3%
Cultural / Religious	29%	22%
Unspecified / Other	16%	15%

Schoolbook Analysis: Economic History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	7%	18%
B/GDR2	12%	23%
B/GDR3	12%	19%
B/GDR4	12%	19%
B/GDR5	16%	21%
B/GDR6	12%	18%
B7/S1	11%	14%
B8/S2	12%	11%

Schoolbook Analysis: Political History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	26%	16%
B/GDR2	23%	8%
B/GDR3	25%	10%
B/GDR4	24%	16%
B/GDR5	22%	11%
B/GDR6	27%	14%
B7/S1	33%	14%
B8/S2	18%	19%

Schoolbook Analysis: Social History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	11%	22%
B/GDR2	8%	28%
B/GDR3	8%	20%
B/GDR4	11%	21%
B/GDR5	14%	23%
B/GDR6	9%	19%
B7/S1	13%	11%
B8/S2	12%	18%

Schoolbook Analysis: Military History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	19%	14%
B/GDR2	21%	9%
B/GDR3	19%	14%
B/GDR4	18%	11%
B/GDR5	18%	9%
B/GDR6	18%	12%
B7/S1	11%	12%
B8/S2	9%	12%

Schoolbook Analysis: Revolutionary History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	3%	4%
B/GDR2	2%	5%
B/GDR3	2%	5%
B/GDR4	2%	5%
B/GDR5	1%	8%
B/GDR6	2%	6%
B7/S1	0%	3%
B8/S2	1%	3%

Schoolbook Analysis: Cultural / Religious History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	24%	21%
B/GDR2	24%	22%
B/GDR3	29%	25%
B/GDR4	25%	19%
B/GDR5	21%	17%
B/GDR6	24%	19%
B7/S1	23%	29%
B8/S2	20%	22%

Schoolbook Analysis: Unspecified / Other History		
Book No.	Bavaria	East Germany (GDR / Saxony)
B/GDR1	7%	6%
B/GDR2	10%	7%
B/GDR3	6%	7%
B/GDR4	7%	8%
B/GDR5	8%	11%
B/GDR6	8%	12%
B7/S1	10%	16%
B8/S2	28%	15%

Section Five

Interview Questions in German

1.1. Allgemein gesagt, welche der folgenden Zugehörigkeiten ist Ihnen am wichtigsten wenn Sie beschreiben sollen wer sie sind? Welche ist am zweit wichtigsten? Und welche ist am dritt wichtigsten?

- a. Ihr momentaner Beruf (oder Hausfrau/-mann)
- b. Ihr ethnischer Hintergrund (z.B. Schwabe sein)
- c. Ihr Geschlecht
- d. Ihre Altersgruppe
- e. Ihre Religion (oder Atheist sein)
- f. Ihre bevorzugte Partei oder politische Bewegung (Umwelt- oder Tierschutzvereine fallen auch in diese Kategorie)
- g. Ihre Nationalität
- h. Ihre Familie oder Ihr Familienstand (d.h. z.B. Ehemann oder Ehefrau, Alleinstehend etc.)
- i. Ihre soziale Schicht oder Klasse (z.B. Arbeiterklasse)
- j. Die Gegend in der Sie leben
- k. Der Ort Ihrer Geburt

1.2. Können Sie versuchen Ihre Entscheidung zu begründen? Warum haben Sie diese drei Zugehörigkeiten ausgewählt? Warum nicht die anderen?

1.3. Wurde eine Zugehörigkeit nicht erwähnt, die Ihnen wichtig ist?

2.1. Inwieweit fühlen Sie sich verbunden mit ...

	Sehr eng verbunden (1)	eng verbunden (2)	nicht sicher (3)	nicht eng verbunden (4)	überhaupt nicht verbunden (5)
a. Ihrer Stadt/ Dorf					
b. dem Bundesland, in dem Sie leben					
c. West/Ostdeutschland					
d. Deutschland					
e. Europa					

2.2. Können Sie versuchen Ihre Antworten zu begründen? Warum fühlen Sie sich einigen Gegenden enger verbunden als anderen?

3.1. Welche der beiden folgenden Aussagen kommt Ihrer eigenen Meinung näher?

a. Es ist unbedingt notwendig, dass Deutschland ein Staat bleibt.

b. Wenn Teile Deutschlands es wollen, sollten Sie unabhängige Staaten werden dürfen.

c. Keine Antwort gewählt

3. 2. Bitte Begründen Sie Ihre Antwort.

4.1. Manche Leute meinen, dass die folgenden Merkmale wichtig sind, um wirklich ein Deutscher/eine Deutsche zu sein. Andere halten sie nicht für wichtig. Wie stufen Sie diese Dinge ein?

a. In Deutschland geboren zu sein:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

b. Die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit zu besitzen:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

c. Den größten Teil des Lebens in Deutschland gelebt zu haben:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

d. Deutsch sprechen zu können:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

e. Ein Christ zu sein:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

f. Die deutschen politischen Institutionen und Gesetze zu achten:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

g. Deutscher Abstammung zu sein, d.h. wenigstens ein deutsches Elternteil zu haben:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

h. Sich als Deutscher zu fühlen:

Sehr wichtig (1) Wichtig (2) nicht sicher (3) Nicht wichtig (4) Überhaupt nicht wichtig (5)

4.2. Können Sie versuchen zu begründen, warum Sie einige dieser Dinge besonders wichtig finden und andere nicht?

4.3. Wurden ein Aspekt den Sie hinsichtlich der Frage was eine Person ‚deutsch‘ macht nicht erwähnt?

Ja Nein

4.4. Welcher?

5. Es wird oft darüber diskutiert auf welchen Kriterien die Vergabe der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft basieren sollte. Es herrscht zum Beispiel ein Streit darüber, ob Türken die schon lange in Deutschland leben eher ein Anrecht auf die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft haben als Spätaussiedler aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion, die zwar deutscher Abstammung sind aber vorher noch nie in Deutschland gewesen sind. Wie ist Ihre Meinung zu diesem Thema?

6.1. Wie stolz sind Sie auf Deutschland hinsichtlich ...

a. ... der Art und Weise, wie in Deutschland Demokratie funktioniert:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

b. ... der wirtschaftlichen Erfolge:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

c. ... der sozialstaatlichen Leistungen:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

d. ... der wissenschaftlichen und technologischen Leistungen:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

e. ... deutscher sportlichen Erfolge:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

f. ... der Leistungen in Kunst, Literatur und Musik:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

g. ... der deutschen Geschichte:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

h. ... der gerechten und gleichen Behandlung aller gesellschaftlichen Gruppen:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

i. ... der deutschen Streitkräfte:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

j. ... der deutschen Mentalität:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

k. ... der deutschen Landschaft:

Sehr stolz(1) Stolz(2) nicht sicher(3) Nicht stolz(4) Überhaupt nicht stolz(5)

6.2. Können Sie versuchen Ihre Antworten zu begründen? Warum sind Sie auf einige Sachen besonders stolz und auf andere weniger oder gar nicht?

6.3. Fehlt in der eben genannten Liste etwas, auf das Sie besonders Stolz sind in Deutschland?

Ja Nein

6.4. Was fehlt?

6.5. Ist Deutschland Ihrer Meinung nach hinsichtlich ... besser als andere Länder?

Ja Nein

6.6. Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Antwort.

6.7. Von einigen Dingen haben sie gesagt, dass diese Sie nicht stolz auf Deutschland machen? Würden Sie sagen, dass Sie sich für diese Dinge schämen?

Ja Nein

6.8.b. Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Antwort:

7.1. Es gibt verschiedene Meinungen darüber, wie das Verhältnis zwischen Deutschland und der EU geregelt sein sollte. Welcher der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie am ehesten zu?

- a. Deutschland soll zwar ein Staat bleiben, muss aber politisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell eng in die EU eingebunden sein.**
- b. Deutschland soll aus der EU austreten und ein vollkommen unabhängiger Staat werden.**
- c. Deutschland soll zu Gunsten eines Europäischen Staates als Nationalstaat aufgelöst werden.**
- d. Hat keine der Aussagen gewählt.**

7.2. Können Sie Ihre Antwort begründen?

8.1. In welchen Bereichen Ihres Lebens kommen Sie in Kontakt mit Geschichte? Wie intensiv ist dieser Kontakt?

	Häufig (1)	Manchmal (2)	Nie (3)
a. Ich lese historische Romane			
b. Ich lese wissenschaftliche Literatur über Geschichte			
c. Ich besuche Ausstellungen/Museen/Archäologische Stätten			
d. Ich besuche Denkmäler und/oder Gedenkstätten			
e. Ich schaue mir Spielfilme an, die sich mit Geschichte beschäftigen			
f. Ich schaue mir Dokumentarfilme an, die sich mit Geschichte beschäftigen			

g. Ich bin Mitglied in einen Verein, der sich mit Geschichte beschäftigt:

Ja Nein

h. Ich habe Geschichte oder Archäologie studiert oder habe Kurse in Geschichte und Archäologie besucht:

Ja Nein

8.2. Beschäftigen Sie sich mit Geschichte auf eine Art und Weise, die in eben nicht erwähnt wurde?

Ja Nein

8.3.

Welcher?

9. In dem folgen Teil geht es um die deutsche Geschichte. Und zwar gebe ich Ihnen unterschiedliche Perioden in der deutschen Geschichte vor – ich würde Sie bitten, mir stichwortartig zu erzählen, welche für Sie wichtige Personen, Ereignisse und Tatbestände Ihnen zu der jeweiligen Periode einfallen. Bitte sagen Sie Bescheid, wenn Ihnen nichts einfällt. Ich werde Ihnen dann eine kleine Auswahl an Personen und Ereignissen aus der jeweiligen Periode vorgeben und Sie sagen mir, ob Ihnen die genannte Person/das genannte Ereignis bekannt ist oder nicht.

9.1 Deutsche Ur- und Frühgeschichte (up to c.500)			
	Mentioned as associated keyword (1)	When prompted familiar (2)	When prompted not familiar (3)
a. Kelten			
b. Germanen			
c. Limes			
d. Arminius, Hermann/Varusschlacht			

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

e. German Pre- and early history: associated keywords which are not on the list

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.

9.2 Deutsches Mittelalter (c.500-c.1500)			
	Associated keyword (1)	When prompted familiar (2)	When prompted not familiar (3)
a. Karl der Große			
b. Heinrich/Otto I			
c. Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nationen			
d. Städtebünde, z.B. die Hanse			
e. Barbarossa			

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

f. German Middle Ages: associated keywords which are not on the list

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

9.3 Deutsche Neuzeit (c.1500-1871)			
	Associated keyword (1)	When prompted familiar (2)	When prompted not familiar (3)
a. Martin Luther, Reformation			
b. 1848, Paulskirche			
c. Friedrich der Große von Preußen			
d. Marx and Engels			
e. Deutscher Bund			

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

f. German Early Modern Period: associated keywords not on the list

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

9.4. Deutsche Moderne Geschichte (1871-Present)			
	Associated Keyword	When prompted familiar	When prompted not familiar
a. Gründung des Deutschen Reich, Bismarck			
b. WWI			
c. Versailler Vertrag			
d. Drittes Reich			
e. WWII			
f. Widerstandsbewegung im Dritten Reich			
g. Holocaust			
h. Mauerbau			
i. Adenauer/Brandt			
j. Ulbricht/Honecker			
k. Wiedervereinigung			

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

I. Modern period in Germany: associated keywords not on the list

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

10. Können Sie mir sagen, ob und in welchem Umfang Sie etwas über unterschiedlichen Perioden der deutschen Geschichte gelernt haben.

10.1 Deutsche Ur- und Frühgeschichte (bis c. 500):

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher(3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

10.2. Deutsches Mittelalter (c500-1500):

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher(3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

10.3. Deutsche Neuzeit (c. 1500 – 1871):

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher(3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus,Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

d. Deutsche Moderne Geschichte:

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel(2)	Nicht sicher (3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus,Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Selbst erlebt					
g. Anders					

11.1. Welche Personen und Ereignisse finden Sie persönlich besonders wichtig für die deutsche Geschichte? 11.2. und warum?

12.1. Sind Sie auf bestimmte Perioden/Ereignisse/Personen in der deutschen Geschichte besonders stolz?

Ja Nein

12.2. Wenn ja, auf welche und 12.3. warum?

13.1. Schämen Sie sich für bestimmte Perioden/Ereignisse/Personen in der deutschen Geschichte?

Ja Nein

13.2. Wenn ja für welche und 13.3. warum?

14.1. Zusammenfassend würden Sie sagen, dass Sie ...

- a. ... überwiegend stolz auf die deutsche Geschichte sind.**
- b. ... überwiegend sich für die deutsche Geschichte schämen.**
- c. weder stolz auf die deutsche Geschichte sind, noch sich dafür schämen.**
- d. Keine Antwort gewählt**

14.2. Wollen Sie diesem noch etwas hinzufügen oder Ihre Antwort begründen?

15.1. Es gibt verschiedene Auffassungen, darüber ob Menschen in der Gegenwart Verantwortung für die Geschichte Ihrer Vorfahren und Ihres Landes tragen oder nicht. Welche der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie eher zu?

a. Schlimme und schöne Dinge sind in der deutschen Vergangenheit passiert aber ich trage keine Verantwortung dafür.

b. Ich trage zwar keine direkte Verantwortung für die deutsche Geschichte, finde aber dass es meine Aufgabe ist aus dem Positiven wie aus Negativen zu lernen.

c. Als Deutscher/e trage ich die Verantwortung für die Geschichte meines Landes und meiner Vorfahren.

d. Keine Antwort gewählt.

15.2. Können Sie bitte Ihre Antwort begründen.

16. In dem folgenden Teil geht es um die Alte Geschichte in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt. Und zwar gebe ich Ihnen unterschiedliche Perioden aus der Alten Geschichte vor – ich würde Sie bitten mir stichwortartig zu erzählen, welche für sie wichtigen Personen, Ereignisse und Tatbestände Ihnen zu der jeweiligen Periode einfallen. Bitte sagen Sie Bescheid, wenn Ihnen nichts einfällt. Ich werde Ihnen dann eine kleine Auswahl an Personen und Ereignissen aus der jeweiligen Periode vorgeben und Sie sagen mir, was Ihnen dazu einfällt. Wenn Ihnen nichts einfällt gebe ich Ihnen ein weiteres Stichwort und Sie sagen mir, ob Ihnen die genannte Person/das genannte Ereignis bekannt ist oder nicht.

16.1. Alte Geschichte Afrikas

a. Altes Ägypten	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
a.i Pyramiden	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
a.ii Hieroglyphen	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

16.2. Der Alte Orient

a. Perserreich	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
a.i Darcios I	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

b. Mesopotamien	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
b.i. Babylon	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
b.ii Hammurabi	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

c. Zeit des frühen Islam	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
c.i. Kalifat	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
c.ii Mohammed	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

16.2d: Alter Orient: associated keywords not on list

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

16.3 Das Alte Asien

a. Altes China	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
a.i Chinesische Mauer	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
a.ii Alte chinesische Dynastien, eg. Shang, Zhou, Han etc	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
b. Hunnen	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
b.i. Attila	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

16.4. Das Alte Europa

a. Urgeschichte	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
a.i. Neanderthaler	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
a.ii. Höhlenmalerei in Lascaux in Frankreich	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

b. Die Alten Griechen	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
b.i Agamemnon	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
b.ii Attische Demokratie	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
b.iii Polis	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	

c. Das Römische Reich	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
c.i Hanniball/Karthago	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
c.ii Spartacus	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
c.iii Cesar	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

d. Frühes Mittelalter	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	
	When prompted could associate sth with it (2)	
	When prompted could not associate sth with it (3)	
	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
d.i Völkerwanderung	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
	Mentioned w/o prompting at all (1)	
d.ii Frankenreich	Mentioned with prompting/level 1 (2)	
	When prompted familiar (3)	
	When prompted unfamiliar (4)	
	Mentioned w/o prompting (1)	

1=schon mal gehört, 2= weiß ein bisschen was, 3= weiß relativ viel

16.4.e Ancient Europe: associated keywords not on list:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

17. Können Sie mir sagen, wo Sie über die Alte Geschichte etwas gelernt haben.

17.1. Alte Geschichte Afrikas:

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher (3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

17.2. Geschichte des Alten Orients:

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher (3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

17.3. Alte Asiatische Geschichte

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher (3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

17.4 Alte europäische Geschichte

	Sehr viel (1)	Viel (2)	Nicht sicher (3)	Kaum (4)	Gar nicht (5)
a. Schule					
b. Tourismus, Besuche von Denkmälern/Museen/Ausstellungen/ Archäologischen Stätten					
c. Bücher					
d. Filme					
e. Medien					
f. Anders					

18. 1. Einige Menschen würden sagen, dass mit der Alten Geschichte die Grundsteine unserer modernen Gesellschaft in Deutschland gelegt wurden. Wie schätzen Sie dies ein 18.2. Bitte erklären Sie Ihre Antworten und 18.3. nennen, wenn möglich, Beispiele.

a. In der Alten Geschichte wurden große kulturelle und künstlerische Leistungen hervorgebracht, die heute noch Menschen in Deutschland beeinflussen:

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

b. Der Alten Geschichte verdanken wir unsere heutige soziale Ordnung in Deutschland.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

c. In der Alten Geschichte wurden die Grundsteine unserer politischen Ordnung gelegt.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

d. In der Alten Geschichte wurden die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung eines deutschen Staates in Nordeuropa geschaffen.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

e. In der Alten Geschichte haben sich ethnische (z.B. Schwaben) und nationale (z.B. Deutsche, Franzosen) Gruppen gebildet, die es bis heute in Europa und Deutschland gibt.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

f. Die Alte Geschichte hat nichts mit der Gegenwart in Deutschland zu tun.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

19.1. Es gibt unterschiedliche Meinungen darüber, ob wie und welche Alte Geschichte die Ursprünge und die Entwicklung Deutschlands erklären kann. Welche der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie am ehesten zu?

a. Die Alte Geschichte der deutschen Lande ist wichtiger als die Alte Geschichte anderer Länder um die Ursprünge Deutschlands zu erklären.

b. Es macht überhaupt keinen Unterschied wessen Alte Geschichte wir betrachten, da Geschichte überall auf der Welt dieselben Prozesse und Entwicklungen durchläuft.

c. Um die Grundbausteine der deutschen Entwicklung zu verstehen, müssen wir uns mit den Alten Griechen und/oder Römern beschäftigen - ohne das antike Erbe wäre Deutschland heute ganz anders.

d. Weder die Alte Geschichte Deutschlands noch die Geschichte anderer Länder hat irgendetwas mit der Gegenwart in Deutschland zu tun.

e. Ich kann das nicht beurteilen.

f. Keine Antwort gewählt.

19.2. Bitte versuchen Sie Ihre Antwort zu begründen.

20.1. Die alte Deutsche Geschichte wurde oft mit der Geschichte im Alten Rom und antiken Griechenland verglichen. Dabei sind Menschen zu unterschiedlichen Schlüssen gekommen. Welcher der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie am ehesten zu:

a. Es ist ganz normal, dass ich als Deutscher/Deutsche die Alte Geschichte der deutschen Lande interessanter finde, als die Alte Geschichte anderer Länder und Kulturen.

d. Ich finde, die alte Geschichte der deutschen Lande ziemlich peinlich im Vergleich zu der Geschichte der alten Griechen und Römer, die schon viel früher eine viel höhere Stufe der Zivilisation erreicht haben als wir.

c. Ich finde es nicht richtig zwischen der alten deutschen Geschichte und der alten Geschichte Griechenlands und Roms zu unterscheiden – immerhin haben diese Kulturen die Entwicklung Deutschlands wesentlich beeinflusst und sind somit Bestandteil unserer Geschichte.

d. Ich finde die alte Geschichte ist völlig irrelevant für die Gegenwart und interessiere mich somit überhaupt nicht für einen Vergleich zwischen alter deutscher Geschichte und der alten Geschichten anderer Länder.

e. Keine der Antworten ausgewählt.

20.2. Bitte versuchen Sie Ihre Antwort zu erläutern:

21.1. Oft wird darüber gestritten, welchem Nationalstaat die archäologischen Überreste der Alten Kulturen und Zivilisationen gehören. Welcher der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie am ehesten zu?

a. Meiner Meinung nach gehören die Überreste der alten deutschen Geschichte den Deutschen und sie können damit machen was sie wollen. D.h. dass die Deutschen z.B. entscheiden können, ob Sie das Wikingerdorf in Hainhausen abreißen wollen, um dort einen Supermarkt zu bauen oder ob Sie es lieber erhalten wollen. Das bedeutet auch, dass die archäologischen Funde aus Deutschland nach Deutschland gehören und z.B. nicht in ein amerikanisches Museum.

b. Ich finde, dass die alte deutsche Geschichte Europäisches Kulturerbe ist und somit ganz Europa ein Recht darauf hat. Zum Beispiel, müssen die archäologischen Funde aus Deutschland so aufbewahrt, geschützt und präsentiert werden, dass alle Europäer sich die Funde angucken können. Außerdem müssen alle Europäer ein Recht drauf haben mit zu entscheiden, was mit den Überresten der alten deutschen Geschichte passiert. Praktisch bedeutet das z.B., dass es besser wäre einige archäologische Funde aus Deutschland im Britischen Museum aufzubewahren, weil es in London mehr Touristen gibt als z.B. in Trier und deshalb mehr Europäer Zugang dazu haben.

c. Ich finde, dass die alte deutsche Geschichte Weltkulturerbe ist und das die archäologischen Überbleibsel dieser Vergangenheit allen Menschen auf der Welt zugänglich gemacht werden müssen. Konkret bedeutet das, dass theoretisch ein Afrikaner, z.B., genauso viel Recht auf darauf hat die archäologischen Funde aus Deutschland anzugucken und darüber zu entscheiden, was damit passiert wie ein Deutscher oder ein Franzose. Das bedeutet aber auch, dass die archäologischen Funde aus Deutschland in einem amerikanischen Museum, z.B., genauso gut aufgehoben sind, wie in einem deutschen Museum.

d. Ich sehe die Sache ganz anders.

e. Keine Antwort gewählt.

21.2. Können Sie bitte versuchen Ihre Antwort zu begründen.

21.3. Würden Sie genauso antworten, wenn ich ‚alte deutsche Geschichte‘ durch ‚alte griechische Geschichte‘ ersetzen würde?

Ja Nein

21.4. Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Antwort.

21.5 Wie verhält sich die Sache, wenn ich ‚deutsche Geschichte‘ mit der Geschichte des Alten Mesopotamiens, das im heutigen Irak liegt, ersetzen würde? Würden Sie genauso antworten?

Ja Nein

21.6. Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Antwort.

22.1. Menschen haben verschiedene Haltungen zur Geschichte. Was ist Ihre Meinung?

a. Die Beschäftigung mit Geschichte ist wichtig, weil wir aus der Vergangenheit lernen können.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

b. Geschichte ist interessant, weil die Vergangenheit die Gegenwart erklärt:

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

c. Die Beschäftigung mit Geschichte ist positiv, weil ich auf meine Geschichte stolz bin und mich gut fühle, wenn ich auf die deutsche Geschichte zurückschaue.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

d. Die Beschäftigung mit Geschichte ist wichtig, weil wir durch den Rückblick auf die Vergangenheit besser verstehen können, worauf wir in der Zukunft zusteuern sollen.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

e. Geschichte ist unterhaltend:

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

f. Ich beschäftige mich nicht gerne mit Geschichte, weil Geschichte langweilig ist.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

g. Ich beschäftige mich nicht mit Geschichte, weil Geschichte kompliziert und schwer zu verstehen ist.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

h. Ich interessiere mich nicht für Geschichte, weil Geschichte irrelevant für die Gegenwart ist.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

i. Ich interessiere mich nicht für Geschichte, weil Geschichte schmerzhaft ist und ich nicht darüber nachdenken möchte.

stimme voll und ganz zu(1) stimme zu(2) bin nicht sicher(3) stimme nicht zu(4) stimme überhaupt nicht zu (5)

22.2. Ist Ihrer Meinung nach ein wichtiger Grund für die oder gegen die Beschäftigung mit Geschichte nicht genannt worden?

Ja, ein Grund ist nicht genannt worden Nein

22.3. Welcher:

23. Erinnern Sie sich an Ihren Geschichtsunterricht? Was finden Sie hätte besser gemacht werden können? Und was ist Ihrer Meinung nach gut gewesen?

24. Erinnern Sie sich, ob Sie hauptsächlich aus dem Schulbuch gelernt haben?

Ja, haben wir Nein, ich kann mich nicht erinnern Nein, haben wir nicht

25.1. Ich habe historische Quellen in 4 Kategorien eingeteilt:

- a.) Archäologie/Bodendenkmäler**
- b.) Sagen/Legenden**
- c.) Religiöse texte**
- d.) Historische Dokumente und Schriften – Urkunden, Historiker aus alter Zeit**

Erinnern Sie sich daran, ob Sie im Geschichtsunterricht über die Arbeit mit den verschiedenen Quellen gelernt?

Ja, haben wir Nein, ich kann mich nicht erinnern Nein, haben wir nicht

25.2. Wenn ‚nein‘ welche anderen Unterrichtsmaterialien wurden benutzt?

26. Welche historischen Quelle finden Sie persönlich am interessantesten?

- a. Archäologie/Bodendenkmäler
- b. Sagen/Legenden
- c. Religiöse Texte
- d. Historische Dokumente und Schriften – Urkunden, Historiker aus alter Zeit
- e. Kann ich nicht sagen

27. Welcher der folgenden Aussagen stimmen Sie am ehesten zu

- a. Geschichtliches Wissen ist zum großen Teil subjektiv – Historiker und Archäologen arbeiten mit lückenhaftem Material und müssen Ihre Funde von Ihrem Standpunkt aus interpretieren.**
- b. Geschichtliches Wissen ist Tatsache; Historiker und Archäologen arbeiten mit Fakten**
- c. Kann ich nicht beurteilen.**
- d. Keine der Antworten wurde gewählt**

Section Six

English Translation of the Interview Questions and Coding

Section Six

English Translation of the Interview Questions and Coding

Question 1.1.

We are all part of different groups. When we are defining ourselves some groups are more important to us than others. Generally speaking, which of the following groups do you find most important when describing who you are? Which is the second most important? And third most important?

- a. My current profession (or being a home-maker)**
- b. My ethnic background**
- c. My gender (being a man or a woman)**
- d. My age group**
- e. My religion**
- f. My favoured political party or movement**
- g. My nationality**
- h. My family or my marital status (being a son/daughter, being a husband/wife, being single)**
- i. My social class**
- j. The area in which I live**
- k. My place of birth**

Coding 1.1.:

- 0. not important,
- 1. most important,
- 2. second most important,
- 3. third most important.

Note: Some interviewees chose more than one item for the different priority levels.

R = Re-coding: ordinal data for Spearman's Rho:

- 1. most important,

2. second most important,
3. third most important,
4. not important.

Summary 1.1.:

1. not important,
2. important (includes 1,2,3 of original coding).

Question 1.2.

Please explain your answers.

Coding 1.2.: Not coded – answers offer no further insights.

Question 1.3.

Were certain forms of group-affiliations not mentioned that are important to you?

Coding 1.3.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 1.4.:

If so, which group affiliations/categories are missing?

Coding 1.4.a and b.:

500 = n/a

1. societies/clubs,
2. interests, hobbies, sports, leisure activities,
3. friends and neighbours,
4. personality,
8. East German,
9. social status (based on material conditions, academic background etc.),
10. being European

Note – I have re-categorised: 7. culture (now 2), 5. material conditions, how much money one has (now 9), 6. academic status (now 9).

Question 2.1.

How close do you feel to the following ...

- a. ... your village/the part of town in which you live:**
very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all
- b. ... the province in which you live:**
very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all
- c. East/West Germany:**
very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all
- d.... Germany:**
very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all
- e. ... Europe:**
very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all

Coding 2.1.:

- 0. not ticked,
- 1. ticked.

S.2.1.a-e:

- 1. very close and close,
- 2. not sure,
- 3. not close, not close at all.

Question 2.2.

Please explain your answers.

Coding 2.2.:

2.2.ai,aii,aiii = reasons for 2.1.a

- 2.2.bi,bii,biii = reasons for 2.1.b
- 2.2.ci,cii,ciii = reasons for 2.1.c
- 2.2.di,dii,diii,div = reasons for 2.1.d
- 2.2.ei,eii,eiii,eiv = reasons for 2.e
- 2.2.f = general remarks

1. My roots are here (my family's root are here)/ I grew up here.
2. My roots are not here.
3. My family and friends are here.
4. My family and friends are not here.
5. This is my home, I feel comfortable and happy here, I like being/living here.
6. This is not my home, I do not like being here, I would rather be somewhere else.
7. I like being here but I could easily live somewhere else/ I am going to live somewhere else/I have lived somewhere else.
8. I like being here – especially in comparison to other towns/provinces/countries/continents.
9. I am most familiar with this place, know my way around, it feel safe because I know it much better than any other place.
10. I find it too big, I cannot oversee it properly, I do not know it very well. I have never been there and do not know it, I do not know my way around.
11. I am not bothered where I am/ I am bothered that I am here.
12. I feel close to this place – or not close to this place (East and West, Europe) because there is no feeling of community and belonging together, there still is a division, there is no common identity.
13. I feel close – or not close (East/West) because we belong together, have a common identity. East/West Germany does not exist anymore.
14. I feel close to this place because I identify with the politics and/or economy, the politics and/or economy is/are good/beneficial - I am happy with it/them. They mould us together.
15. I do not feel close to this area because politics and/or economics are not good, we do not profit from them, they harm us/are negative.
16. I feel close because of our common history, culture and/or sports – this is positive.
17. I do not feel close to this area because we do not have a common history, culture and/or sports – it is negative and/or unimportant.
18. I feel close to this area because it is beautiful here.
19. I do not feel close because it is more beautiful/nicer somewhere else.
20. I feel close to this place – it's just what I feel, no reason.
21. Other reasons.
22. One is regarded/seen as ... by others.

- 23. The town/province/country/continent is influential/powerful. This is positive.
- 24. I like to travel and this is why I feel close to this place. It is positive.
- 25. It does not make a difference to me where I am/that I am here – there is no difference between here and somewhere else ... (East and West, Bavaria/Saxony and other provinces, Germany and other countries).
- 26. I feel close to this place because I work here/my job is here.
- 27. I feel close to this place because it is/will be important for/in the future.
- 28. I do not feel close to this place because there is no future in it.

Question 3.1.

3.1. Which of the two following statements do you agree with more ...

- 1. It is important that Germany remains a single state.**
- 2. If parts of Germany want to become independent, they should be allowed to do so.**
- 3. Neither of the above/no answer.**

Question 3.2.

Please explain your answer.

I have not used these questions in the thesis.

Question 4.1.

Some people argue that the following characteristics define a ‘proper’ German. Others do not ascribe much importance to them. What is your opinion on this matter?

a. To have been born in Germany:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

b. To have German citizenship:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

c. To have lived in Germany for most of one’s life:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

d. To be able to speak German:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

e. To be a Christian:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

f. To respect the German political institutions and laws:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

g. To have at least one German parent:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

h. To feel German:

very important, important, not sure, not very important, not important at all

Coding for question 4.1.:

- 0. no answer,
- 1. very important,
- 2. important,
- 3. not sure,
- 4. not very important,
- 5. not important at all.

Summary 4.1.:

- 0. no answer,
- 1. very important and important,
- 2. not sure,
- 3. not very important and not important at all.

Question 4.2.

Can you please explain why you find certain characteristics more important than others?

Coding for question 4.2.: Not coded – answers offer no further insights. Also many people have not answered this question in any detail.

Question 4.3.

Are characteristics that you consider to be important in defining what it means to be German missing from the list?

Coding for question 4.3.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 4.4.

If so, which one

Coding for question 4.4.:

500 = n/a

1. Culture – a German should have certain background knowledge of German culture/must share the German cultural identity/must be familiar with and identify with German culture.
2. A German should be familiar with/share the German way of life.
3. A German should have background knowledge of/identify with German history.
4. A German should have the desire to identify with his/her country.
5. Germans are usually hard-working.
6. Germans are usually punctual.
7. A German should be reliable.
8. A German or, better, someone who wants to become German should have the desire to integrate herself/himself in German society, to engage with the country.
9. Germans are usually honest.

10. Germans are usually thorough.
11. Germans are usually tidy/clean.
12. A German must have either grown up in Germany or with German parents/must have had a German education.
13. A German should work in Germany.
14. A German must see his/her goal in life in Germany.
15. A German must have a German mentality.
16. A German should look German.
17. A German usually is characterised by jealousy and profit-orientated thinking.
18. Germans usually see the world in black and white.
19. Germans are bureaucratic.
20. Germans are '*strebsam*'.
21. Germans are open towards other cultures and countries.
22. Other.
23. Germans love Germany – '*Heimatliebe*'.

Question 5

There is much debate about grounds on which German citizenship should be granted to foreigners. For example, people argue over whether Turkish people who have lived in Germany for a long time have more rights to German citizenship than ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ who have German ancestry but have never been to Germany – or whether it should be the other way around. What is your opinion on this topic?

Coding for question 5: The coding is split into several groups:

5.1. – applies to everyone:

1. Only Turks should get German citizenship, ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should not get German citizenship/were not mentioned – no criteria mentioned.
2. Only Turks should get German citizenship, ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should not get German citizenship/were not mentioned – but they should fulfil certain criteria.
3. Turks have more of a right to German citizenship but ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ are not excluded per se – no criteria mentioned.
4. Turks have more of a right to German citizenship but ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ are not excluded per se – but they should fulfil certain criteria.
5. Only ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should get German citizenship, Turks should not get German citizenship/were not mentioned – no criteria mentioned.
6. Only ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should get German citizenship, Turks should not get German citizenship/were not mentioned – but they should fulfil certain criteria.
7. ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ have more of a right to German citizenship but Turks are not excluded per se – no criteria mentioned.
8. ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ have more of a right to German citizenship but Turks are not excluded per se – but they should fulfil certain criteria.
9. Both Turks and ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should have a right to German citizenship – no criteria mentioned.
10. Both Turks and ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should have a right to German citizenship – but they should fulfil certain criteria.
11. Neither Turks nor ‘*Spätaussiedler*’ should have a right to German citizenship.
12. I am not sure.
13. Other.

Note: Most people’s answers are not limited to Turks but include all foreigners who have lived in Germany for a long time.

5.2. – applies only to those who have chosen 2. in 5.1.

5.3. – applies only to those who have chosen 4. in 5.1.

5.4. – applies only to those who have chosen 6 in 5.1. (no one chose this answer).

5.5. – applies only to those who chose 8 in 5.1.

5.6. – applies only to those who chose 10 in 5.1.

Coding applies to 5.2.-5.6.(which criteria):

500=n/a

1. They have to have a job/an occupation.
2. They have to feel close/related to Germany.
3. They have to obey/respect German law/identify with German law/they must not have a criminal record.
4. They must integrate themselves/accept Germany/respect Germany.
5. They have to make an effort to fit in with regard to their religion – for example, not wear headscarves.
6. They have to make an effort to fit in with the German mentality.
7. They have to have a place of residence/somewhere to live.
8. They must be able to speak German.
9. They must have a strong desire to become German – cannot hold German citizenship along with any other citizenship.
10. They have to treat women equally.
11. They have to be interested in/become familiar with Germany and the German way of life, with German values and traditions.
12. They must be willing to stick with Germany through good and bad times – have rights to the benefits but also fulfil their duties.
13. They have to pay their taxes.
14. They have to pay into a pension scheme.
15. The desire to become a German citizen should be heartfelt.
16. They should identify with the state and its institutions.
17. The longer a person has lived in Germany, the more rights he/she has to become a German citizen.
18. Other.
19. They should behave themselves.

Question 6.1.

How proud are you of Germany with regard to the following ...

- a. ... the way democracy works:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- b. ... the economic achievements:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- c. ... the social system:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- d. ... the scientific and technological achievements:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- e. ... the achievements in sports:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- f. ... the achievements in the arts, literature and music:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- g. ... the German army:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- h. ... German history:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- i. ... the fair and equal treatment of all social groups:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- j. ... the German mentality:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all
- k. ... the German landscape:**
very proud, proud, not sure, not very proud, not proud at all

Coding for Question 6.1.:

- 1. very proud,
- 2. proud,
- 3. not sure,
- 4. not very proud,
- 5. not proud at all.

Summary 6.1.:

1. very proud and proud,
2. not sure,
3. not very proud and not proud at all.

Question 6.1.1.

Did the respondent express concerns about the term ‘proud’/’pride’?

Coding for question 6.1.1.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 6.2.

Can you please explain your answers. Why are you more proud of certain collective goods than others?

Coding for question 6.2.: Not coded – answers offer no further insights.

Question 6.3.

Are any collective goods which make you feel particularly proud of being German missing from Question 6.1.?

Coding for question 6.3.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 6.4.

If so, what is missing?

.

Coding of Question 6.4.:

1. German culture/tradition/cultural history,
2. the education system/vocational education, apprenticeships,
3. German cuisine,
4. the quality of life in Germany,
5. environmental awareness and protection,
6. German character traits,
7. German politics (and the fact that in the end the sensible people always win),
8. German technology, cars and scientists,
9. Germany's historic buildings,
10. the German Red Cross,
11. the achievements of the refugees after WWII,
12. the re-unification and the fact that it was possible without any violence,
13. the re-building of Dresden after WWII,
14. the way in which Germany has managed to make clear to its population after WWII that there are certain things that are just wrong – newfound feelings of humanity,
15. the general feeling of belonging together/sticking together,
16. Schröder's foreign policy – to keep in the background,
17. the social/entertaining/fun way of life,
18. the education system in the GDR,
19. critical and theoretical thinking.

Question 6.5.

In your opinion is Germany better with regard to ... [the aspects that people said they feel proud of] ... than other countries? Is it equal or worse? Or do you think it is impossible to make such a comparison?

Coding for Question 6.5.:

1. One cannot/does not want to compare Germany to other countries – each country is unique, has its positive and negative sides – it's impossible to compare/one should not compare.

2. One can only compare Germany to a few other countries – in such a comparison Germany is doing well/is better than others/is among the leading, best countries in the world.
3. One can only compare Germany to a few countries but such a comparison is completely useless/makes no sense.
4. Yes, it is better.
5. One cannot generalise like that – only a few aspects can be compared (not wholesale) but when one does compare these aspects Germany is doing well/is better than others.
6. One cannot say how these things are handled in other countries/does not want to make a judgement.
7. Depends: some things are better in Germany, others are not so good/are better in other countries.
8. Certain aspects are not better in a real sense but one is more familiar with them so one thinks they are better – '*Heimatgefühl*'.
9. Only a few aspects can be compared – in such a comparison Germany is not doing so well/Germany is worse than other countries.
10. Germany is worse than a few/several/a lot of other countries. The trend is bad – Germany will be worse off than many other countries in the future.
11. No, Germany is not better than other countries.

Question 6.6.

Can you please explain your answer.

Coding for Question 6.6.: Not coded – answers offer no further insights.

Question 6.7.

You have said in Question 6.1. that certain collective goods do not make you proud of Germany/proud to be German – would you say that you feel ashamed of these things?

Coding for Question 6.7.:

0. no tick,
1. tick.

500 = n/a

1. Yes, I am ashamed of certain things (not necessarily any of the collective goods mentioned in Question 6.1.) – elaborates which ones.
2. Yes, but being ‘ashamed’ is not really the right word in this context, I am shocked, unhappy, unsatisfied with a few things (not necessarily any of the collective goods mentioned in Question 6.1.) – elaborates which ones.
3. No, I am not ashamed.
4. No, I am not ashamed because it is the wrong word in this context – either because the term is too strong/emotive or because one cannot be ashamed of things that are not one’s fault. – Does not elaborate on things he/she is not happy with.

Question 6.8.

Used to be: **Elaborate on your answer** – but no one did (it is part of 6.7.). Now it is: **which aspects are you ashamed of?**

Coding for Question 6.8.:

500 = n/a

6.8.1. applies to those who have chosen 1.); 6.8.2. applies to those who have chosen 2.)

1. Politics/politicians,
2. the Holocaust/the 3. Reich/ WWII/ ‘*Mitläufer*’ (‘fellow-travellers’) in the Third Reich,
3. the fact that people died/were shot at the wall,
4. German history,
5. the fair and equal treatment of all social groups/aggression and violence against foreigners/the fact that some Germans have not learned their lesson from the Nazi period and are still promoting violence against certain groups of people/right-wing skinheads,
6. the German social system,
7. Germans on holiday,
8. the German army,
9. other/not possible to categorise,
10. bureaucracy, too many regulations, not flexible in this area,
11. the economy.

Question 7.1.

Which of the following statements would you agree with most:

- 1. Germany should be an independent state but must be closely integrated/incorporated into the EU on a political, economic and cultural level.**
- 2. Germany should leave the EU and become a totally independent state.**
- 3. Germany should be dissolved in favour of a single European nation-state.**
- 4. None of the above.**

Coding for Question 7.1.:

1. Germany should be an independent state but must be closely integrated/incorporated into the EU on a political, economic and cultural level.
2. Germany should leave the EU and become a totally independent state.
3. Germany should be dissolved in favour of a single European nation-state.
4. None of the above.

Question 7.2-7.6.

Can you please explain your answer.

Coding for question 7.2.-6.:

500 = n/a

7.2. – applies to those who have chosen 1:

7.2.a. why 1.)?

1. The EU is has a positive effect on the economy/is good for the economy. The economic relations within the EU are especially important.
2. The EU is important because it means that America is not the only powerful country in the world.
3. The EU is not great but things are the way they are now – one has to be behind it/support it/see it through.
4. The EU is important to prevent potential wars.
5. It makes Europe stronger, more influential.
6. There is a development/trend in the world to form ever larger units – one has to go with it, it's the only possible solution at this point in time.
7. Other.

7.2.b. – *why not 2.)?*

1. Germany was a founding member of the EU – it cannot just drop out.
2. One cannot run away when things are getting difficult.
3. Germany profits from the EU/is dependent on the EU – economically and/or in other ways.
4. Turning back is a bad move.
5. Europe has a long history and a common culture, Germany's culture and history has always been intertwined with the rest of Europe.
6. It is not possible any more/one cannot imagine it anymore – various reasons.
7. Europe has to stand united against the other super-powers in the world.
8. Germany would be isolated.
9. Personally 2.) is the preferred option but it is not possible anymore – for various reasons.
10. Other.
11. No reasons given but explicitly stated that 2.) would be very wrong.

7.2.c. – *why not 3.)?*

1. It cannot happen – there are too many differences/Germany is too different in terms of mentality, language, culture etc./there is no sense of European identity.
2. It would be too big, could not oversee it.
3. It is too early, still a utopia, maybe later.
4. It is important to preserve cultural differences – it is exactly this what makes the EU so special, too much would be lost.
5. Emotional – no reason, one just does not want this to happen.
6. One would become the victim of the European bureaucracy, would be bad.
7. Other.
8. It would be against human nature – humans need the nation-state.

7.3. – applies to those who have chosen 2.):

a. – why not 1.):

1. The EU only harmed us (it destroyed our job market).
2. The expansion of the EU towards the East is bad.
3. The EU has cost far too much money.
4. Other.

b. – why 2.):

1. Otherwise Germany loses its sovereignty/it will not have a say anymore and has to obey the EU.

2. Other.

c. – why not 3.):

n/a (no one gave a reason)

7.4. – applies to those who have chosen 3.):

a. – why not a:

n/a

b. – why not be?

n/a

c. why 3.)?

1. It would help to overcome the ‘*Kleinstaaterei*’ in Germany.
2. Political, cultural and scientific achievements could be passed on much quicker/efficiently.

7.5. – applies to those who have chosen 4.):

a. – why not 1.):

1. The word ‘close’ is not right – certain differences/individualities should be preserved (like culture and language) – otherwise: what would remain of Germany?
Fear of assimilation.
2. The EU is good but not the way it is at the moment.
3. Germany is paying more money into the EU than any other member state/it is far too expensive.
4. Far too many stupid regulations and bureaucracy.
5. The European constitution is awful with respect to the social question.
6. It is too early for that.
7. Other.

b. – why not 2.):

1. It would be wrong because Germany benefits a great deal from Europe.
2. Germany should be closely integrated on an economic and/or a cultural level – but not in other areas of life.
3. Germany is far too closely intertwined and connected with Europe – would not be possible anymore.
4. Isolation is always negative.

5. It stupid, pub-talk, ridiculous.
6. Other.

c. – why not 3.):

1. Humans need to feel that they belong to a nation-state. It would be against human nature.
2. Culturally it would be a great disadvantage.
3. Emotional – no reason but does not want this to happen.
4. It would be a crime/would be extremely bad.
5. It is too early for that.
6. Europe is not stable enough for this to be possible.
7. Other.

7.6. applies to those who have chosen 4.):

1. Would prefer something between 1.) and 2.) – German culture should be preserved/stay as it is. At the same time, the different countries should work closely together and be connected to some degree (especially economically) but must remain culturally independent.
2. Europe should be democratic – no special treatment should be given to anybody. It should be somewhere between 1.) and 3.).
3. The EU is fine the way it is BUT there are far too many stupid regulations – this has to change/improve.
4. I am not sure how things should be handled but I do not favour any of the three answers.
5. Germany should retain a degree of independence without completely leaving the EU. Europe is too closely connected at the moment.
6. The EU should be a purely economic union – EU countries should be politically and culturally independent.

Question 8.1.

In which areas of your life do you come into contact with history?

a. I read novels that are concerned with history.

Often, sometimes, never

b. I read academic literature about history.

Often, sometimes, never

c. I visit exhibitions, museums and/or archaeological sites.

Often, sometimes, never

d. I visit memorials.

Often, sometimes, never

e. I watch movies that are concerned with history.

Often, sometimes, never

f. I watch documentaries about history.

Often, sometimes, never

g. I am a member of a club or society that is concerned with history.

Yes/no (which one?)

h. I have studied history or archaeology, have attended courses or lectures in history and/or archaeology.

Yes/no (which one?)

Coding for Question 8.1.a.- f.:

1. often,
2. sometimes,
3. never.

500 = n/a

Coding for Questions 8.1.g. & h.:

1. yes,
2. no.

For Question 8.1.h.3 – which one?

1. Has studied history at university.

2. Has studied archaeology at university.
3. Has done a course/courses in history.
4. Has done a course/courses in archaeology.
5. Went to lectures on historical topics.
6. Went to lectures in archaeological topics.

Question 8.2.

8.2. Do you come into contact with history in any other areas of your life?

Coding for Question 8.2.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 8.3.

8.3. If so which ones?

Coding for Question 8.3.:

500 = n/a

1. Through their job/profession - indirectly (for example actors, people running a B&B, dealing with antique furniture etc).
2. Through artistic hobbies (sewing historic costumes, making model-ships from WWII).
3. Re-enactment.
4. Through their job – directly (Working as a part-time research assistant at an archaeology department).
5. Through the family (father/grandfather/husband – they know much about history).
6. Reads biographies.
7. Interest in family-history, researching the roots of the family history.
8. Internet/the media.
9. Hobby archaeologist – is searching for archaeological sites.
10. Through travels.
11. Hobby historian.
12. Talking about it, discussing it with people.
13. Writes articles about historical topics/gives public lectures.
14. Historical encyclopaedias.

Question 9

This part of the interview is concerned with German history. I will ask you to associate keywords with certain periods in German history. Do not worry if you cannot think of any. I will then suggest a number of keywords to you and you simply tell me if the person/event is familiar to you or not.

9.1. German Pre- and early history (up to c.500)			
	Mentioned as associated keyword	When prompted familiar	When prompted not familiar
a. Celts			
b. Ancient Germans			
c. Limes			
d. Arminius/Varus Battle			

9.1.e. German Pre- and early history: associated keywords which are not on the list:

9.2. German Middle Ages (c.500-c.1500)			
	Associated keyword	When prompted familiar	When prompted not familiar
a. Charlemagne			
b. Otto I/Heinrich I			
c. Holy Roman Empire			
d. City-federations, eg. Hanse League			
e. Barbarossa			

9.2.f. German Middle Ages: associated keywords which are not on the list:

9.3. Early Modern Period in Germany (c.1500-1871)			
	Associated keyword	When prompted familiar	When prompted not familiar
a. Martin Luther, reformation			
b. 1848, Paulskirche			
c. Friedrich the Great of Prussia			
d. Marx and Engels			
e. Deutscher Bund/German Federation			

9.3.f. German Early Modern Period: associated keywords not on the list:

9.4.Modern Period in Germany (1871-Present)			
	Associated Keyword	When prompted familiar	When prompted not familiar
a. Foundation of the German Reich, Bismarck			
b. WWI			
c. Treaty of Versailles			
d. 3. Reich			
e. WWII			
f. Resistance in the Third Reich			
g. Holocaust			
h. Building of the wall			
i. Ardenauer/Brandt			
j. Ulbricht/Honecker			
k. Reunification			

9.4.l. Modern period in Germany: associated keywords not on the list:

Coding for Question 9:

Applies to 9.1.a-d, 9.2.a-e, 9.3.a-e, 9.4.a-k:

1. Mentioned as an associated keyword.
2. When prompted familiar with the person/event – i.e. the interviewee knows more about it than just the term, can tell you something about it.
3. When prompted they are familiar with the term but do not know more about it – they cannot elaborate on it or provide any kind of explanation/information.
4. When prompted the event/person is not familiar.

Summary 9.1.-4.a-k.:

1. familiar – knowledge of (includes 1 and 2 of original coding),
2. unfamiliar – only the most basic knowledge (includes 3 and 4 of original coding).

Applies to 9.1.e:

1. Migration period,
2. other,
3. Saxons,
4. general: the development of Germany,
5. Neanderthals,
6. Venus of Willensdorf,
7. one cannot speak of “German” or “Germany” in pre- and early history,
8. ‚Phalbauten‘,
9. ‚Sternenscheibe von Nebra‘,
10. ‚Kreidezeit‘,
11. invention of fire,
12. tools,
13. the development of logical thinking,
14. barbarians,
15. Ice Age,
16. Stone Age,
17. pottery vessels,
18. the Huns,
19. the Franks,
20. Slavic peoples in Germany,
21. the Bronze Age,
22. local archaeological sites,
23. evolution,
24. Vikings,
25. Iron Age,
26. n/a
27. ‚Endmoräne‘,
28. Attila,
29. the Normans,

30. the '*Bajuwaren*',
31. Hallstatt,
32. mammoth,
33. caves,
34. Alemanni,
35. stone clubs,
36. the Romans,
37. n/a,
38. battle of Augsburg (Huns).

S.I.9.1.e. Summary I:

110. Local history: 3,8,9,19,22,30
111. Local and world history: 38
112. German history: 4,7,14
113. German and European history:20,24,36,
114. Unspecified/things that could have occurred anywhere in the world:
5,10,11,12,13,15,16,17,21,23,25,27,32,33,35
115. Other:2
116. German, European and world history: 1
117. Local and German history: 34
118. European history:6,31,29
119. World history: 18,28

S.II.9.1.e. Summary II:

Number of keywords associated with the 'pre- and early German history': 1 -

Applies to 9.2.f:

1. Princes/Principalities/'*Herrschaftshäuser*',
2. the crusades,
3. book printing,
4. '*Gang nach Canossa*',
5. the first German pope/Urban,
6. Pippin,
7. Karl Martell,
8. monasteries,
9. '*Franziskaner*',
10. breweries/beer/drinking horns,
11. Hildegart von Bingen,
12. witch hunts/burning witches/witches,
13. Gothic churches/churches/Cathedrals,
14. religion,
15. Catholic church,
16. Dark Ages, murder and violence, hard life,
17. n/a,

18. the Inquisition,
19. knights, orders of knights, '*Raubritter*',
20. castles,
21. the Plague,
22. palaces,
23. cities/'*Reichstädte*',
24. Fugger,
25. local sites/buildings – for examples castles in the Allgäu,
26. German emperors,
27. power of the church,
28. founding of states (for example Bavaria),
29. Welfen,
30. Staufer,
31. n/a,
32. Conflict between emperor and pope,
33. exploitation of peasants/the poor classes/power and rule of the aristocracy, slavery, '*Leibeigenschaft*',
34. n/a,
35. feudalism,
36. '*3-Felderwirtschaft*',
37. n/a,
38. tournaments,
39. music, literature, art,
40. guilds,
41. fragmentation of Germany,
42. markets,
43. Walther von der Vogelweide
44. n/a,
45. n/a,
46. Hildebrandt's song,
47. Niebelungenlied,
48. structures of the Roman Empire are being incorporated into the medieval empire,
49. '*Goldene Bulle*',
50. '*Stände*',
51. trade/trade routes,
52. '*Frohndienst*',
53. n/a,
54. Hungarian invasions,
55. '*Wormser Konkordat*',
56. wars,
57. n/a,
58. central German state,
59. legends,
60. Dürer,
61. prosecution of Jews,
62. Slavs,
63. Holy Elisabeth,
64. '*Minnesänge/lieder*',
65. Gothic,

66. Jan Huss.

S.I.9.2.f. Summary I (applies to 9.2.):

210. Local history: 24,25,29

211. Local and German history: 28

213. German history: 1,3,10,11,26,39,41,43,46,47,58,59,60,63

214. German and European history:

4,5,6,7,8,12,13,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,23,27,30,32,33,35,36,38,40,42,48,49,50,51,52,54,
55,61,64,65

215. German, European and World history: 2,9

216. Unspecified/things that could have occurred anywhere in the world: 14,56

217. European history: 62,66

S.II.9.2.f – Summary II:

Number of associated keywords: 1- ...

Applies to 9.3.f:

1. Prussia/king of Prussia,
2. Principalities,
3. Thirty Years of War,
4. German-French War,
5. the railway,
6. 'Barock',
7. Rokoko,
8. Jugendstil,
9. emperor,
10. palaces,
11. wars,
12. emigrations,
13. Ludwig,
14. the 2. Reich,
15. nation-states,
16. colonies (or lack thereof),
17. Napoleon,
18. 1866 – Bavaria is fighting Prussia,
19. Culture: poets, musicians, art,
20. church, bishops,
21. Wenzel,
22. land-owners ('Großgrundbesitzer'),
23. Schiller and Goethe,
24. alliance with Austria,
25. fragmentation/division of Poland,
26. Bismarck,
27. Dürer,
28. Bergheimer,

29. industrialisation, Industrial Revolution,
30. '*Kleinstaaterei*',
31. Renaissance,
32. war with Austria,
33. war with Russia,
34. book printing,
35. Biedmeier,
36. Turks outside Vienna,
37. Neuschwanstein,
38. Beethoven,
39. Mozart,
40. Hegel,
41. Turnvater Jahn/Wartburg,
42. Napoleonic wars/wars of liberation,
43. Peasant's riots/wars,
44. French Revolution and its impact,
45. Peace of Westphalia,
46. 99 Theses,
47. Vienna Congress/Congress of Vienna,
48. black, red, yellow,
49. Seven Years of War,
50. '*Schlesische Kriege*',
51. August der Starke,
52. '*Dichterfürsten*',
53. factories,
54. capitalism,
55. the Romantic,
56. Strauss,
57. '*Sozialistengesetz*',
58. '*Arbeiterbildungsverein*',
59. Social Democracy,
60. Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig,
61. Thomas Münzer,
62. technology and inventions,
63. '*Herrschaftshäuser*',
64. '*Sturm und Drang*',
65. '*Zollverein*',
66. constitution for Saxony,
67. steam machine,
68. '*Soldatenkönige*',
69. '*Weber*',
70. Enlightenment,
71. philosophers,
72. history of universities,
73. development of the bourgeoisie,
74. development of cities,
75. Maria Theresa,
76. '*Gründerzeit*',
77. Bauhausstil,
78. absolutism,

- 79. Humboldt,
- 80. liberalism,
- 81. proclaiming the republic,
- 82. Austria-Hungary,
- 83. German-Danish war.

S.I.9.3.f Summary I (applies to 9.3.):

- 310.** Local history: 13,37,51,66
- 311.** Local and German history: 18
- 312.** Local, German and European history: 60
- 313.** German history:
1,2,9,10,14,19,23,24,26,27,28,30,32,34,35,38,39,40,41,43,46,48,50,52,56,57,58,59,61,63,64, 65,68,71,72,75,76,77,79,81
- 314.** German and European history:
3,4,6,7,8,15,17,20,22,25,31,33,42,44,45,47,49,53,55,69,70,73,74,78,80,82,83,
- 315.** German, European and World history:12,16,
- 316.** Unspecified/things that could have occurred anywhere in the world: 5,11,29,54,62
- 317.** European history: 21,67
- 318.** European and world history: 36

S.II.9.3.f– Summary II:

Number of associated keywords: 1-...

Applies to 9.4.1:

- 1. Hitler & Co,
- 2. Kohl,
- 3. changing political systems,
- 4. Ebert,
- 5. '2. Vatikanisches Konzil',
- 6. industrialisation/Industrial Revolution,
- 7. Titanic,
- 8. Strauss,
- 9. Marshall-plan,
- 10. Hindenburg,
- 11. Wilhelm II,
- 12. submarines,
- 13. 'Anschluß ans Reich',
- 14. Bombing of Dresden (and Coventry),
- 15. Economic Miracle/booming economy,
- 16. EC, EEC, EU,
- 17. single currency, Euro,
- 18. 'Heimatvertrieben',
- 19. Bauhaus,

20. Weimar Republic,
21. welfare state (birth of),
22. social reforms,
23. '*Wiederaufbau*',
24. little national identity,
25. German- French War,
26. Wilhelm I,
27. birth of the FRG,
28. the constitution of the FRG,
29. loss of German territory, borders change,
30. communism/socialism,
31. October Revolution and other communist revolutions,
32. Olympic Games in Germany,
33. RAF,
34. technology/science/inventions,
35. Bundeswehr abroad,
36. '*Wiederbewaffnung*',
37. Cold War,
38. German colonies,
39. n/a,
40. Kaiserreich,
41. Jugendstil,
42. Erhard,
43. trade unions,
44. workers' organisations,
45. D-Mark/DDR-Mark,
46. '*Kapitulation*',
47. Germany not participating in the Iraq war,
48. Prussia,
49. Einstein,
50. inflation,
51. Expressionism,
52. damaging the environment,
53. German Tsar,
54. black Friday on wall street,
55. Stresemann,
56. August Bebel,
57. Munich coup,
58. Soviet dictatorship,
59. two treaties on German soil,
60. division of East and West Germany,
61. seizure of power by the Nazis,
62. Konrath Röntgen,
63. Golden Twenties,
64. '*Gründerzeit*',
65. military developments,
66. development of class-consciousness,
67. '*relativer Wohlstand für alle*',
68. women get the right to vote,
69. many Nobel Prizes for Germans,

70. separation from Austria,
71. 1914 assassination of Franz Ferdinand,
72. 'Sozialistengesetze',
73. the November revolution of 1918,
74. long period of peace since 1945,
75. ups and downs for the German people,
76. poverty and wealth (polarisation),
77. capitalism,
78. 'Arbeiteraufstand' 1956,
79. assimilation of Jews in the Weimar Republic,
80. birth of factories,
81. 1888 – 3 emperor year,
82. Saxony – industrial centre,
83. economic development,
84. development of the bourgeoisie,
85. loss of our cultural heritage,
86. fighting religion,
87. 'Wilhelminische Aera',
88. prisoners of war in Russia,
89. 'Boxeraufstand',
90. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,
91. Scheidemann,
92. Occupational powers,
93. Stalin/Lenin,
94. Heidegger,
95. Treaty of Potsdam,
96. NATO,
97. literature.

S.I.9.4.I Summary I (applies to 9.4.):

410. Local history: 82

411. German history:

1,2,3,4,8,10,11,15,19,20,21,22,23,24,26,27,28,30,32,33,36,40,42,43,44,45,48,49,50,55,
56,57,60,61,62,63,64,65,67,68,69,72,73,74,75,78,79,81,83,85,86,87,90,91,94,97

412. German and European history: 13,14,16,17,18,25,29,41,51,53,58,66,70,71,88

413. German, European and World history: 5,12,35,37,46,47,54,59,80,84,89,92,95,96

414. German and World history: 9,38

415. Unspecified/things that could have occurred anywhere in the world: 6,34,52,76,77

416. World history: 7

417. European history: 31,93

S.II.9.4.I – Summary II:

Number of associated keywords: 1- ...

Question 10.

Could you please elaborate where, and to what extent, you think you have learned about the different periods in German history?

10.1. German pre- and early history:

- a. school:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- c. Books:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- d. Films:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- e. Media:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- f. Other:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.2. German Middle Ages:

- a. school:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- c. Books:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- d. Films:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- e. Media:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- f. Other:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.3. Early modern period in Germany:

- a. school:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- c. Books:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- d. Films:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- e. Media:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- f. Other:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.4. German modern history:

- a. school:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- c. Books:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- d. Films:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- e. Media:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- f. I witnessed it myself:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.
- g. Other:**
very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

Coding for Question 10:

- 1. very much,

2. much,
3. not sure,
4. hardly any,
5. not at all.

500=n/a

Summary/S:

1. very much, much;
2. not sure,
3. hardly any, not at all.

Question 11.1.

Which individuals, groups of people and/or events do you personally consider particularly important for the development of German history?

Coding of Question 11.1.:

Black: Questions 11,12,13. Red: Questions 12. and 13. Blue: Question 13.

1. Hitler & Co,
2. Ludwig II of Bavaria,
3. all German emperors,
4. Helmut Kohl,
5. Charlemagne,
6. Otto von Bismarck,
7. WWII,
8. Konrath Adenauer,
9. Willy Brandt,
10. Chancellor Schmidt,
11. political developments after WWII,
12. technological developments and inventions (and people who invented them),
13. the German economy after WWII,
14. Re-unification, fall of the wall,
15. Kaiser Wilhelm II,
16. Gustav Stresemann (politician, chancellor and foreign minister in the Weimar Republic),
17. Martin Luther,
18. translation of the Bible into German,
19. foundation of the German Reich 1871,
20. Theodor Heuss (first president of the FRG),
21. Gustav Walther Heinemann (politician, later president of the FRG),
22. Friechrich II/Friedrich the Great/der Alte Fritz,
23. King Maximillian I. of Bavaria,
24. Habsburger,
25. Hohenzollern,
26. Ludwig Erhard,
27. Barbarossa/Friedrich I,
28. the time after WWII (in general),
29. Willy Brandt's '*Kniefall*',
30. Franz Joseph Strauss (politician, amongst other duties in his career he was the president of Bavaria),
31. Walter Ulbricht,
32. Michael Gorbatschow,
33. Joesph Stalin,
34. the new beginning after WWII, re-building the country,
35. Otto I,
36. Ludwig van Beethoven,
37. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,

38. Johann Wolfgang Goethe,
39. Friedrich Schiller,
40. '*kulturelle Blüte*',
41. Albert Einstein
42. emergence/foundation of the welfare state,
43. the Holocaust,
44. WWI,
45. Geschwister Scholl,
46. Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg,
47. Napoleon/French Revolution,
48. August der Starke,
49. the division of Germany,
50. Germany joins the EU,
51. current situation: reelections and '*Auflösung des Bundestags*',
52. Theoderich,
53. Hans-Dietrich Genscher (politician),
54. Gerhard Schröder and the fact that the German army is not in Iraq,
55. musicians (general),
56. poets (general),
57. philosophers (general),
58. social reforms,
59. Russian influence on East Germany,
60. Immanuel Kant,
61. Georg Hegel,
62. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels,
63. Johann Sebastian Bach,
64. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,
65. Wilhelm Pieck (communist, politician, president of the GDR),
66. Treaty of Potsdam,
67. the Reformation,
68. Heinrich Heine,
69. Thomas Münzer/Peasant Wars,
70. change in political systems over the course of the 20th Century,
71. GDR, the communist regime in Germany,
72. medical doctors,
73. Friedrich Nietzsche,
74. Walther von der Vogelweide,
75. the 1968er generation/events,
76. not sure, does not feel confident enough in Germany history to be able to say,
77. utopians,
78. Third Reich and National Socialism,
79. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,
80. Weimarer Kultur/Weimarer Klassik,
81. humanists,
82. Johannes Gutenberg,
83. Johannes Kepler,
84. Pfarrer Führer,
85. 1848,
86. Bötscher ('*Meißner Porzellan*'),
87. Zetkin/women's movement,

88. Paul von Hindenburg,
89. Ferdinand Lassall,
90. Günther Grass
91. August Bebel
92. Erich Honecker,
93. Friedrich Ebert,
94. John F. Kennedy
95. Siegmund Freud,
96. n/a,
97. the Manns,
98. Ernst Thälmann,
99. n/a,
100. Resistance in the Third Reich (unknown people),
101. Treuhand,
102. FRG,
103. Pope Benedikt XVI,
104. Middle Ages,
105. Richard Weizsäcker (politician and president),
106. post-war period,
107. wars of liberation,
108. everything where people found a consensus and compromised,
109. modern times,
110. no example,
111. 'Dichturfürsten',
112. Erwin Eugen Rommel,
113. art,
114. literature,
115. Bertholt Brecht,
116. Oskar Schindler,
117. periods where the German people freed themselves from oppression,
118. n/a,
119. Brothers Grimm,
120. 'Montagsdemos',
121. school system, education in the GDR,
122. job-prospects in the GDR,
123. the Enlightenment,
124. Sport in the GDR,
125. Katharina Witt,
126. Otto Grotewolt,
127. Anne Frank,
128. humanity/solidarity – value system in the GDR,
129. November Revolution,
130. Inhumanity,
131. colonies, colonial period,
132. n/a,
133. Angela Merkel,
134. intolerance,
135. people who died at the wall,
136. people who deny the Holocaust and the Nazi terror,
137. fellow travellers in the 3. Reich,

- 138. the Catholic church,
- 139. inquisition,
- 140. 'Ritterorden' (and their activities in the East),
- 141. violence and discrimination against foreigners,
- 142. politics and democracy in modern-day Germany.

S.I.11.1.a-q (Summary I):

Note: Topics overlap to a certain extent.

310. Political History:

1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,14,15,16,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,29,30,31,32,33,35,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,59,65,66,70,71,78,88,89,91,92,93,94,98,102,105,126,133,142

311. Economic History: 13,101

312. Religious/Church related History: 17,18,67,103,138,139

313. History of Revolutions and Resistance, Protest movements:

45,46,47,69,75,79,84,85,87,100,107,116,117,120,129

314. Wars/Violence/Holocaust/Military/Oppression (institutionalised):

7,43,44,112,131,135

315. Intellectual, Technological and Cultural Achievements:

12,36,37,38,39,40,41,55,56,57,60,61,62,63,64,68,72,73,74,80,81,82,83,86,90,95,97,111,113,114,115,119,123

316. Social/Educational History: 42,58,121,122

317. Values/Moral Issues: 128,130,134,136,141

318. Other: 28,34,76,77,104,106,108,109,110,124,125,127,137,140

S.II.11.1.a-q (Summary II):

410. Pre- and Early History: 52

411. Middle Ages: 5,27,35,74,104,140

412. Early Modern Period:

2,17,18,22,23,24,25,36,37,38,39,40,47,48,60,61,62,63,64,67,68,69,73,80,81,82,83,89,107,109,111,119,123

413. Modern Period:

1,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,19,20,21,26,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,41,42,43,44,45,46,49,50,51,53,54,58,59,65,66,70,71,75,78,79,84,85,86,87,88,90,91,92,93,94,95,97,98,100,101,102,103,105,106,112,115,116,120,121,122,124,125,126,127,128,129,133,135,136,137,141,142

414. Other: 76,110

415. Overlapping: 3,131

416. Unspecified: 12,55,56,57,72,77,108,113,114,117,130,134,138,139

S.III.11.1.a-q (Summary III):

510. Local history: 2,23,48

511. German history:

1,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,25,26,28,30,31,34,36,37?,38,39,40,41,42,43,45,46,49,51,53,55,56,57,58,60,61,62,63,64,65,68,69,70,71,72,73,74,75,77,78,79,80,81,82,83,84,85,86,87,88,89,90,91,92,93,95,97,98,100,101,102,105,106,111,113,114,115,116,117,119,120,121,122,124,125,126,128,129,133,135,136,137,142.

512. German and European history: 5,27,29,35,50,52,59,67,107,127,139,140

513. German, European and World history: 7,24,44,54,66,103,112,138

514. German and World history: 131

515. Other/Unspecified: 76,104,108,109,110,123,130,134,141

516. European history: 32,33,47

517. World history: 94

Question 11.2.

Can you please explain your answers?

Coding of Question 11.2.: I have not coded the answers to this question because only a very small number of interviewees explained why they think certain events/people are important for the development of German history.

Question 12.1.

Are you proud of particular periods, events and/or individuals in German history?

Coding for Question 12.1.:

1. yes,
2. yes, but 'proud' is not quite the right word,
3. no.

Summary – S12.1.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 12.2.

If so, which ones?

Coding for Question 12.2.:

Black: Questions 11,12,13. Red: Questions 12. and 13. Blue: Question 13.

1. Hitler & Co,
2. Ludwig II of Bavaria,
3. all German emperors,
4. Helmut Kohl,
5. Charlemagne,
6. Otto von Bismarck,
7. WWII,
8. Konrath Adenauer,
9. Willy Brandt,
10. Chancellor Schmidt,
11. political developments after WWII,
12. technological developments and inventions (and people who invented them),
13. the German economy after WWII,
14. Re-unification, fall of the wall,
15. Kaiser Wilhelm II,
16. Gustav Stresemann (politician, chancellor and foreign minister in the Weimar Republic),
17. Martin Luther,
18. translation of the Bible into German,
19. foundation of the German Reich 1871,
20. Theodor Heuss (first president of the FRG),
21. Gustav Walther Heinemann (politician, later president of the FRG),
22. Friechrich II/Friedrich the Great/der Alte Fritz,

23. King Maximilian I. of Bavaria,
24. Habsburger,
25. Hohenzollern,
26. Ludwig Erhard,
27. Barbarossa/Friedrich I,
28. the time after WWII (in general),
29. Willy Brandt's '*Kniefall*',
30. Franz Joseph Strauss (politician, amongst other duties in his career he was the president of Bavaria),
31. Walter Ulbricht,
32. Michael Gorbatschow,
33. Joseph Stalin,
34. the new beginning after WWII, re-building the country,
35. Otto I,
36. Ludwig van Beethoven,
37. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,
38. Johann Wolfgang Goethe,
39. Friedrich Schiller,
40. '*kulturelle Blüte*',
41. Albert Einstein
42. emergence/foundation of the welfare state,
43. the Holocaust,
44. WWI,
45. Geschwister Scholl,
46. Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg,
47. Napoleon/French Revolution,
48. August der Starke,
49. the division of Germany,
50. Germany joins the EU,
51. current situation: elections and '*Auflösung des Bundestags*',
52. Theodorich,
53. Hans-Dietrich Genscher (politician),
54. Gerhard Schröder and the fact that the German army is not in Iraq,
55. musicians (general),
56. poets (general),
57. philosophers (general),
58. social reforms,
59. Russian influence on East Germany,
60. Immanuel Kant,
61. Georg Hegel,
62. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels,
63. Johann Sebastian Bach,
64. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,
65. Wilhelm Pieck (communist, politician, president of the GDR),
66. Treaty of Potsdam,
67. the Reformation,
68. Heinrich Heine,
69. Thomas Münzer/Peasant Wars,
70. change in political systems over the course of the 20th Century,
71. GDR, the communist regime in Germany,

72. medical doctors,
73. Friedrich Nietzsche,
74. Walther von der Vogelweide,
75. the 1968er generation/events,
76. not sure, does not feel confident enough in Germany history to be able to say,
77. utopians,
78. Third Reich and National Socialism,
79. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,
80. Weimarer Kultur/Weimarer Klassik,
81. humanists,
82. Johannes Gutenberg,
83. Johannes Kepler,
84. Pfarrer Führer,
85. 1848,
86. Bötscher ('*Meißner Porzellan*'),
87. Zetkin/women's movement,
88. Paul von Hindenburg,
89. Ferdinand Lassall,
90. Günther Grass
91. August Bebel
92. Erich Honecker,
93. Friedrich Ebert,
94. John F. Kennedy
95. Sigmund Freud,
96. n/a,
97. the Manns,
98. Ernst Thälmann,
99. n/a,
100. Resistance in the Third Reich (unknown people),
101. Treuhand,
102. FRG,
103. Pope Benedikt XVI,
104. Middle Ages,
105. Richard Weizsäcker (politician and president),
106. post-war period,
107. wars of liberation,
108. everything where people found a consensus and compromised,
109. modern times,
110. no example,
111. '*Dichterfürsten*',
112. Erwin Eugen Rommel,
113. art,
114. literature,
115. Bertholt Brecht,
116. Oskar Schindler,
117. periods where the German people freed themselves from oppression,
118. n/a,
119. Brothers Grimm,
120. '*Montagsdemos*',
121. school system, education in the GDR,

122. job-prospects in the GDR,
123. the Enlightenment,
124. Sport in the GDR,
125. Katharina Witt,
126. Otto Grotewolt,
127. Anne Frank,
128. humaniity/solidarity – value system in the GDR,
129. November Revolution,
130. Inhumanity,
131. colonies, colonial period,
132. n/a,
133. Angela Merkel,
134. intolerance,
135. people who died at the wall,
136. people who deny the Holocaust and the Nazi terror,
137. fellow travellers in the 3. Reich,
138. the Catholic church,
139. inquisition,
140. 'Ritterorden' (and their activities in the East),
141. violence and discrimination against foreigners,
142. politics and democracy in modern-day Germany.

600 = n/a

S.I.12.2.a-f (Summary I):

Note: Topics overlap to a certain extent.

310. Political History:

1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,14,15,16,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,29,30,31,32,33,35,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,59,65,66,70,71,78,88,89,91,92,93,94,98,102,105,126,133,142

311. Economic History: 13,101

312. Religious/Church related History: 17,18,67,103,138,139

313. History of Revolutions and Resistance, Protest movements:

45,46,47,69,75,79,84,85,87,100,107,116,117,120,129

314. Wars/Violence/Holocaust/Military/Oppression (institutionalised):

7,43,44,112,131,135

315. Intellectual, Technological and Cultural Achievements:

12,36,37,38,39,40,41,55,56,57,60,61,62,63,64,68,72,73,74,80,81,82,83,86,90,95,97,111,113,114,115,119,123

316. Social/Educational History: 42,58,121,122

317. Values/Moral Issues: 128,130,134,136,141

318. Other: 28,34,76,77,104,106,108,109,110,124,125,127,137,140

S.II.12.2.a-f (Summary II):

410. Pre- and Early History: 52

411. Middle Ages: 5,27,35,74,104,140

412. Early Modern Period:

2,17,18,22,23,24,25,36,37,38,39,40,47,48,60,61,62,63,64,67,68,69,73,80,81,82,83,89,107,109,111,119,123

413. Modern Period:

1,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,19,20,21,26,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,41,42,43,44,45,46,49,50,51,53,54,58,59,65,66,70,71,75,78,79,84,85,86?,87,88,90,91,92,93,94,95,97,98,100,101,102,103,105,106,112,115,116,120,121,122,124,125,126,127,128,129,133,135,136,137,141,142

414. Other: 76,110

415. Overlapping: 3,131

416. Unspecified: 12,55,56,57,72,77,108,113,114,117,130,134,138,139

S.III.12.2.a-f (Summary III):

510. Local history: 2,23,48

511. German history:

1,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,25,26,28,30,31,34,36,37?,38,39,40,41,42,43,45,46,49,51,53,55,56,57,58,60,61,62,63,64,65,68,69,70,71,72,73,74,75,77,78,79,80,81,82,83,84,85,86,87,88,89,90,91,92,93,95,97,98,100,101,102,105,106,111,113,114,115,116,117,119,120,121,122,124,125,126,128,129,133,135,136,137,142.

512. German and European history: 5,27,29,35,50,52,59,67,107,127,139,140

513. German, European and World history: 7,24,44,54,66,103,112,138

514. German and World history: 131

515. Other/Unspecified: 76,104,108,109,110,123,130,134,141

516. European history: 32,33,47

517. World history: 94

Question 12.3.

Please explain your answers.

Coding for Question 12.3.: I have not coded the answers to this question as very few people explained their answers in any detail.

Question 13.1.

Are you ashamed of particular periods, events and/or individuals in German history?

Coding for Question 13.1.:

1. yes,
2. yes, but 'ashamed' is not really the right term in this context – 'upset' might be better,
3. yes, the German people as a whole should be ashamed but individuals should not feel ashamed – it was/is not their fault,
4. n/a,
5. No, why should Germans still feel ashamed? It is not right that the Germans are still expected to feel bad about their past – it happened a long time ago and other countries were just as bad,
6. No,
7. No, because it is not my fault/my responsibility,
8. No, one should not be ashamed of history – it is important to accept it the way it is,
9. No, one should not and cannot be ashamed of history – it just is the way it is/it just happened the way it happened,
10. No, being 'ashamed' is not the right word in this context,
11. 5&7,
12. 2&3,
13. 7&10.

Summary I (applies to Question 13.1):

1. Yes: 1,2,3,(4),12
2. No: 5,6,7,8,9,10,13
3. Other: 11

Summary II:

1. Yes: 1,2,3,(4),12,
2. No: 5,6,7,8,9,10,11,13

Question: 13.2.

If so, which ones?

Coding for Question 13.2.:

Black: Questions 11,12,13. Red: Questions 12. and 13. Blue: Question 13.

1. Hitler & Co,
2. Ludwig II of Bavaria,

3. all German emperors,
4. Helmut Kohl,
5. Charlemagne,
6. Otto von Bismarck,
7. WWII,
8. Konrath Adenauer,
9. Willy Brandt,
10. Chancellor Schmidt,
11. political developments after WWII,
12. technological developments and inventions (and people who invented them),
13. the German economy after WWII,
14. Re-unification, fall of the wall,
15. Kaiser Wilhelm II,
16. Gustav Stresemann (politician, chancellor and foreign minister in the Weimar Republic),
17. Martin Luther,
18. translation of the Bible into German,
19. foundation of the German Reich 1871,
20. Theodor Heuss (first president of the FRG),
21. Gustav Walther Heinemann (politician, later president of the FRG),
22. Friechrich II/Friedrich the Great/der Alte Fritz,
23. King Maximillian I. of Bavaria,
24. Habsburger,
25. Hohenzollern,
26. Ludwig Erhard,
27. Barbarossa/Friedrich I,
28. the time after WWII (in general),
29. Willy Brandt's '*Kniefall*',
30. Franz Joseph Strauss (politician, amongst other duties in his career he was the president of Bavaria),
31. Walter Ulbricht,
32. Michael Gorbatschow,
33. Joesph Stalin,
34. the new beginning after WWII, re-building the country,
35. Otto I,
36. Ludwig van Beethoven,
37. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,
38. Johann Wolfgang Goethe,
39. Friedrich Schiller,
40. '*kulturelle Blüte*',
41. Albert Einstein
42. emergence/foundation of the welfare state,
43. the Holocaust,
44. WWI,
45. Geschwister Scholl,
46. Claus Schenk von Staufenberg,
47. Napoleon/French Revolution,
48. August der Starke,
49. the division of Germany,
50. Germany joins the EU,

51. current situation: reelections and '*Auflösung des Bundestags*',
52. Theoderich,
53. Hans-Dietrich Genscher (politician),
54. Gerhard Schröder and the fact that the German army is not in Iraq,
55. musicians (general),
56. poets (general),
57. philosophers (general),
58. social reforms,
59. Russian influence on East Germany,
60. Immanuel Kant,
61. Georg Hegel,
62. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels,
63. Johann Sebastian Bach,
64. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,
65. Wilhelm Pieck (communist, politician, president of the GDR),
66. Treaty of Potsdam,
67. the Reformation,
68. Heinrich Heine,
69. Thomas Münzer/Peasant Wars,
70. change in political systems over the course of the 20th Century,
71. GDR, the communist regime in Germany,
72. medical doctors,
73. Friedrich Nietzsche,
74. Walther von der Vogelweide,
75. the 1968er generation/events,
76. not sure, does not feel confident enough in Germany history to be able to say,
77. utopians,
78. Third Reich and National Socialism,
79. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,
80. Weimarer Kultur/Weimarer Klassik,
81. humanists,
82. Johannes Gutenberg,
83. Johannes Kepler,
84. Pfarrer Führer,
85. 1848,
86. Bötscher ('*Meißner Porzellan*'),
87. Zetkin/women's movement,
88. Paul von Hindenburg,
89. Ferdinand Lassall,
90. Günther Grass
91. August Bebel
92. Erich Honecker,
93. Friedrich Ebert,
94. John F. Kennedy
95. Sigmund Freud,
96. n/a,
97. the Manns,
98. Ernst Thälmann,
99. n/a,
100. Resistance in the Third Reich (unknown people),

101. Treuhand,
102. FRG,
103. Pope Benedikt XVI,
104. Middle Ages,
105. Richard Weizsäcker (politician and president),
106. post-war period,
107. wars of liberation,
108. everything where people found a consensus and compromised,
109. modern times,
110. no example,
111. 'Dichterfürsten',
112. Erwin Eugen Rommel,
113. art,
114. literature,
115. Bertholt Brecht,
116. Oskar Schindler,
117. periods where the German people freed themselves from oppression,
118. n/a,
119. Brothers Grimm,
120. 'Montagsdemos',
121. school system, education in the GDR,
122. job-prospects in the GDR,
123. the Enlightenment,
124. Sport in the GDR,
125. Katharina Witt,
126. Otto Grotewolt,
127. Anne Frank,
128. humanity/solidarity – value system in the GDR,
129. November Revolution,
130. Inhumanity,
131. colonies, colonial period,
132. n/a,
133. Angela Merkel,
134. intolerance,
135. people who died at the wall,
136. people who deny the Holocaust and the Nazi terror,
137. fellow travellers in the 3. Reich,
138. the Catholic church,
139. inquisition,
140. 'Ritterorden' (and their activities in the East),
141. violence and discrimination against foreigners,
142. politics and democracy in modern-day Germany.

600 = n/a

S.I.13.2. (Summary I):

Note: Topics overlap to a certain extent.

310. Political History:

1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,14,15,16,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,29,30,31,32,33,35,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,59,65,66,70,71,78,88,89,91,92,93,94,98,102,105,126,133,142

311. Economic History: 13,101

312. Religious/Church related History: 17,18,67,103,138,139

313. History of Revolutions and Resistance, Protest movements:

45,46,47,69,75,79,84,85,87,100,107,116,117,120,129

314. Wars/Violence/Holocaust/Military/Oppression (institutionalised):

7,43,44,112,131,135

315. Intellectual, Technological and Cultural Achievements:

12,36,37,38,39,40,41,55,56,57,60,61,62,63,64,68,72,73,74,80,81,82,83,86,90,95,97,111,113,114,115,119,123

316. Social/Educational History: 42,58,121,122

317. Values/Moral Issues: 128,130,134,136,141

318. Other: 28,34,76,77,104,106,108,109,110,124,125,127,137,140

S.II.13.2. (Summary II):

410. Pre- and Early History: 52

411. Middle Ages: 5,27,35,74,104,140

412. Early Modern Period:

2,17,18,22,23,24,25,36,37,38,39,40,47,48,60,61,62,63,64,67,68,69,73,80,81,82,83,89,107,109,111,119,123

413. Modern Period:

1,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,19,20,21,26,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,41,42,43,44,45,46,49,50,51,53,54,58,59,65,66,70,71,75,78,79,84,85,86,87,88,90,91,92,93,94,95,97,98,100,101,102,103,105,106,112,115,116,120,121,122,124,125,126,127,128,129,133,135,136,137,141,142

414. Other: 76,110

415. Overlapping: 3,131

416. Unspecified: 12,55,56,57,72,77,108,113,114,117,130,134,138,139

S.III.13.2. (Summary III):

510. Local history: 2,23,48

511. German history:

1,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,25,26,28,30,31,34,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,45,46,49,51,53,55,56,57,58,60,61,62,63,64,65,68,69,70,71,72,73,74,75,77,78,79,80,81,82,83,84,85,86,87,88,89,90,91,92,93,95,97,98,100,101,102,105,106,111,113,114,115,116,117,119,120,121,122,124,125,126,128,129,133,135,136,137,142.

512. German and European history: 5,27,29,35,50,52,59,67,107,127,139,140

513. German, European and World history: 7,24,44,54,66,103,112,138

514. German and World history: 131

515. Other/Unspecified: 76,104,108,109,110,123,130,134,141

516. European history: 32,33,47

517. World history: 94

Question 13.3.

Please explain your answer given in Question 13.2..

Coding for Question 12.3.: I have not coded the answers to this question as very few people explained their answers in any detail.

Question 14.1.

In summary would you say that ...

- 1. ... you are mostly proud of German history.**
- 2. ... you are mostly ashamed of German history.**
- 3. ... you are neither proud nor ashamed of German history.**
- 4. None of the above.**

Coding for Question 14.1.:

600= n/a

Question 14.2.

Do you wish to elaborate on or explain your answer?

Coding for Question 14.2.:

14.2. – applies to those who have chosen 1):

1. Twelve years in German history cannot be decisive – one does not want to block out these years; they were awful but one should not feel ashamed of German history because of them.
2. One is proud of German history – even though one should be careful as a German to use this word. But why should we feel ashamed?

Nobody chose 2.)

14.3. – applies to those who have chosen 3):

1. Good and bad things happened in Germany history – it is just the way it is.
2. In the grand scheme of things history does not matter enough to provoke feelings such as pride and shame.
3. One must not be ashamed of the Third Reich but one should not be proud of it either.
4. 'Pride' and 'shame' are the wrong terms to use in this context. One can only be proud of things that one has achieved oneself/of things that one has done – it's the same with shame: one can only be ashamed of things that one has personally done wrong.

5. I am ashamed of the Third Reich but good things happened during this time too – the resistance for example.
6. Germans as a whole should be ashamed of their history but I should not feel ashamed personally: I have not done anything wrong.
7. I cannot say that I am mostly proud of German history because it covers-up the fact that I am not proud at all of some things that happened in the past.

14.4. – applies to those who have chosen 4:

1. One cannot generalise – I am ashamed of the Third Reich but am proud of the resistance.
2. I do not feel I know enough about the ancient and medieval past to feel proud/ashamed – it is difficult enough to judge for modern history alone.

Question 15.1.

People have different opinions about whether people in the present have responsibility for the deeds of their ancestors and the history of their country. Which of the following statement do agree with most?

- a. Good and bad things happened in German history but I am nor responsible for them.**
- b. I am not directly responsible for German history but I think that it is my duty to learn from both the positive and the negative things that happened in the past.**
- c. As a German I am responsible for the history of my country and the deeds of my ancestors.**
- d. None of the above.**

Coding for Question 15.1.:

- 1. a - Good and bad things happened in German history but I am nor responsible for them.
- 2. b - I am not directly responsible for German history but I think that it is my duty to learn from both the positive and the negative things that happened in the past.
- 3. c - As a German I am responsible for the history of my country and the deeds of my ancestors,
- 4. d - None of the above,
- 5. a & b,
- 6. b & c.

Questions 15.2. – 15.6.

Could you please explain your answer.

Coding for Question 15.2.-15.6.:

600 = n/a

15.2. – applies to those who have chosen 1):

- 1. History just happens, bad things should not happen again but things are the way they are now, one cannot change what happened yesterday.
- 2. One cannot inherit guilt – one must not punish succeeding generations for crimes that their ancestors committed/things their ancestors did. They do not have anything to do with it.

15.3. – applies to those who have chosen 5 (1 & 2):

No coding – nobody gave an explanation.

15.4. – applies to those who have chosen 2):

1. One cannot inherit guilt, one can learn from mistakes that others have made but I cannot take responsibility for something I have not done/that was not my fault.
2. I do not feel responsible for the Nazi period – my family is not guilty of any crimes.
3. One has to learn from history – any history (does not matter whose history), it is absolutely essential – otherwise humankind would not progress.
4. If it is indeed possible to learn from history (which is doubtful – especially for whole societies, not so much for individuals) then one should definitely do it.

15.5. – applies to those who have chosen 6 (2 & 3):

1. One shares the responsibility.
2. I only take the responsibility for WWII and the Nazi period (at least parts of it) – everything else is too long ago. I still feel that I must apologise for the Nazi crimes although I was not involved (like Willy Brandt when he apologised to Poland).

15.6. – applies to those who have chosen 3):

1. If I did not take responsibility for the past, then it would mean that I would not care about the future.

Question 16.

This part of the interview is concerned with ancient history from different parts of the world. I will ask you to associate keywords with certain periods in world history. Do not worry if you cannot think of any. I will then suggest a number of keywords and you tell me what you can associate with them and/or if they is familiar to you or not.

In this context ,ancient history’ roughly means the period from the beginnings of humankind to about 1000 BC.

16.1. Ancient African Past

a. Ancient Egypt	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Main keyword: 4)	
	When prompted doesn’t know what its/never heard of it (Main keyword 5)	
a.i. Pyramids	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
a.ii Hieroglyphs	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

16.1.b. Ancient African Past: associated keywords not on list:

16.2. Ancient Orient

a. Persian Empire	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
a.i. Darius	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

b. Ancient Mesopotamia	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
b.i. Babylon	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
b.ii Hammurabi	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

c. Early Islam	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
c.i. Caliph system	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
c.ii. Mohammed	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

16.2.d. Ancient Orient: associated keywords not on list:

16.3. Ancient Asia

a. Ancient China	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
a.i. The Great Wall	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
a.ii. Ancient Chinese dynasties, eg. Shang, Zhou, Han etc	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

b. Hunns	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
b.ii Attila	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

16.3.c. Ancient Asia: associated keywords not on list:

16.4. Ancient Europe

a. Prehistory	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
a.i Neanderthals	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
a.ii Cave paintings at Lascaux	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

b. Ancient Greece	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
b.i Agamemnon	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
b.ii Athenian Democracy	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
b.iii Polis	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

c. Roman Empire	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
c.i Hanibal	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
c.ii Spartacus	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
c.iii Cesar	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

d. Early Middle Ages	Mentioned w/o prompting (Main keyword: 1)	
	When prompted familiar -can associate other things with it (Main keyword: 2)	
	When prompted familiar – cannot associate anything with it but knows what it is/is familiar (Main keyword: 3)	
d. i. Migration period	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	
d.ii Frank Empire	Mentioned w/o prompting (Sub-keyword: 6)	
	Mentioned when prompted level 1 (Sub-keyword 7)	
	When prompted familiar (Sub-keyword 8)	
	When prompted only the term is familiar (Sub-keyword 9)	
	When prompted not familiar (sub-keyword 10)	

16.4.e. Ancient Europe: associated keywords not on list:

Coding for Question 16.:

16.1.b.I (category I- ancient Africa):

1. Origins of humankind/cradle of humankind,
2. Nubia,
3. Lucy,
4. Homo Sapiens,
5. bone artefacts,
6. hominids,
7. Things that do not fit into this category, that are much later,
8. Carthage,
9. Arabs,
10. Queen of Saba,
11. Punt, land of gold,
12. Ancient buildings in Rhodesia,
13. first paper,
14. slaves,

15. Ethiopia,
16. Coptic period,
17. more progressive/advanced than Europeans,
18. hunters and gatherers,
19. The land still belonged to the African peoples – there were not any colonies yet,
20. Phoenicians,
21. highly developed culture,
22. ‚Leibeigene‘,
23. Neanderthals,
24. Alexandria.

S.I.16.1.b (Summary I: Ancient Africa):

Note: excludes the keywords in the questions.

- 110.** World history: 1,2,3,8,9,10,11,12,13,15,16,20,21,24
111. Unspecified/things that occurred elsewhere: 4,5,6,14,18,22,23
112. Other:7
113. World and European: 17,19

NoKW16.1.bl: number of keywords associated with ancient Africa – includes 1 and 6 in given categories

16.1.all (category II - Egypt):

1. Cheops,
2. pharaohs,
3. Cleopatra,
4. Sphinx,
5. Gods,
6. Nile,
7. Cesar,
8. irrigation,
9. poor treatment of human-beings,
10. very advanced/well developed,
11. Old Kingdom,
12. science – great achievements,
13. astronomy,
14. slaves, slave-holders,
15. Enchnaton,
16. Tut-Ench-Amun,
17. bows,
18. Ramses,
19. exodus from Egypt,
20. dynasties,

21. tempel,
22. Moses crosses the Red Sea,
23. belief in a life after death/reincarnation,
24. mummies, mummification,
25. technology,
26. military superiority,
27. tombs, burials,
28. economics,
29. civilisation, highly advanced culture,
30. tomb paintings,
31. grave goods,
32. cosmetics,
33. social structures that can be compared to modern structures – that might even have been better,
34. brutal wars,
35. hierarchical leadership,
36. religion,
37. Nefretete,
38. highly organised state power,
39. priests, power of the priests,
40. colonisation, oppression of conquered peoples,
41. Gizeh,
42. Karnack,
43. Luxor,
44. Old to New Kingdom,
45. Ptolemaic,
46. world power,
47. war against the Hittites,
48. the first woman on the throne,
49. cult of the dead,
50. highly advanced architecture,
51. Ra,
52. plagues,
53. fertile land,
54. excavations – stealing,
55. invention of the wheel,
56. mathematics.

S.II.16.1.a (Summary II - Ancient Egypt):

210. World history:

1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,35,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53,55,56

211. European and world: 7,45

213. Unspecified/things that occurred elsewhere: 34(because don't know which wars)

214. German, European and world history: 54

NoKW16.1.all: number of keywords associated with ancient Egypt – includes those in the question.

16.2.d. (Category I – Ancient Orient):

1. 1001 Nights,
2. chess,
3. Nineveh,
4. Assyrians,
5. Hittites,
6. Alca Hüyük,
7. Gilgamensch,
8. Iran,
9. Iraq,
10. cradle of humankind,
11. Ali Baba and the 40 thieves,
12. crusades,
13. Sultan,
14. liberation of Jerusalem,
15. Muslim conquests,
16. Damascus,
17. Arabic numerals,
18. Alexander the Great,
19. Moses,
20. David,
21. origins of the concept of ‚God‘,
22. monotheism,
23. Biblical stories,
24. Israel/Jews,
25. Romans,
26. Phoenicians,
27. Greeks,
28. Mongols,
29. Byzantium/Eastern Roman empire,
30. Tower of Babel,
31. Gate of Babylon (Ishta),
32. Alexandria,
33. ‚303 bei Issos Keilerei‘,
34. Slaves in Egypt/Exodus from Egypt,
35. Turks,
36. periods that are much later (Ottoman Empire etc.),
37. magic lamp,
38. Istanbul,
39. Spice Road,
40. Bedouins,
41. harems,
42. destruction of Buddha-figures by the Taliban,
43. Queen of Saba,

44. Petra,
45. gigantic buildings,
46. wealth,
47. much suffering,
48. Sumerians,
49. first civilisations,
50. development of metallurgy,
51. clay tablets,
52. cuneiform,
53. emergence of city-states,
54. Juda,
55. origins of the Jewish state,
56. Assur,
57. n/a,
58. n/a,
59. n/a,
60. much advanced in comparison to us,
61. origins of religion,
62. wars (religious wars),
63. Pippin der Kurze,
64. Reich der Thraker,
65. Skythen,
66. highly centralised feudal states,
67. slavery,
68. theft and profit,
69. Orient,
70. Diaspora,
71. 'The land between the two rivers'/Euphrates and Tigris,
72. n/a,
73. Ur,
74. n/a,
75. Elam,
76. Sargon,
77. Woolley (excavations),
78. king lists,
79. Jesus,
80. Christianity,
81. shisha,
82. belly dancers,
83. Gardens of Seramis,
84. Jews are fighting against Christians.

S.I.16.2.d (Summary I – the ancient Orient):

310. World history:

1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,16,19,20,21,23,24,26??,28,29???,30,32,33,34,35,37,38,39?,40,41,42,43,44, 48,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,61,66,69,71,73,75,76,78,79,81,82,83,84?

311. Unspecified/things that occurred elsewhere:

2 (because it spread, used everywhere – no invention etc.),22,45,46,47,62,67,68,70,80
312. German, European and world: 12,14,17?,27,63?
313. European and world: 15,18,25,64,65,77
314. German and world history: 31,60
315. Other: 36

NoWK16.2.dI: number of keywords associated with the ancient Orient

16.2.aII (Category II – Persian Empire):

1. Alexander the Great,
2. Gordian Knot,
3. world power,
4. Persepolis,
5. empire – lasts for 200 years,
6. very big,
7. further advanced than us,
8. science,
9. Xerxes,
10. a strong empire.

S.II.16.2.a (Summary II – Persian Empire):

410. European and world history: 1,2,
411. World history: 3,4,5,6,8,9,10
412. German and world history: 7

NoKW16.2.bII: number of keywords associated with the Persian Empire

16.2.bII (Category II – Mesopotamia):

1. Euphrates and Tigris/‘Land between the two rivers’,
2. Orient,
3. Tower of Babel,
4. clay tablets,
5. fertile land,
6. Hanging gardens of Babylon,
7. civilisation/very far advanced,
8. Ur,
9. Ninveh,
10. Uruk,
11. origins of the Roman Empire,

12. origins of Christianity,
13. Biblical stories,
14. lions of Babylon,
15. Ishta-Gate.

S.II.16.2.b (summary II – Mesopotamia):

510. World history: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,14

511. European and world history: 11

NoKW16.2.bII: number of keywords associated with Mesopotamia

16.2.c.II (Category II - Islam):

1. ‘Tempelberg’ in Jerusalem,
2. brought culture to Europe,
3. beautiful buildings/architecture,
4. Andalusia/Eroberungszüge nach Europa,
5. Koran,
6. Mecca,
7. spread of Islam,
8. mosques,
9. power structures that are similar to those in principalities.

S.II.16.2.c (Summary II – Islam):

610. World history: 1,3,5,6,7,8,9?

611. European and world history: 2,4

NoKW16.2.cII: number of keywords associated with early Islam

16.3.c (Category I – ancient Asia):

1. temples,
2. emperor culture,
3. papyrus/paper,
4. silk,
5. fighting,
6. Vedas,
7. gods,

8. Kali,
9. Shiva,
10. Sanskrit,
11. Ankor Wat,
12. Tibet,
13. Buddhism/Buddha,
14. gun powder,
15. 'gebundene Füße',
16. Mongols,
17. further advanced than us,
18. Dschingis Khan,
19. migration period,
20. Samurai,
21. Japanese warriors,
22. expansive Japan,
23. Terracotta Army,
24. forbidden city,
25. sciences,
26. pirates,
27. legends, mythology,
28. Japan,
29. Islam,
30. maharatschas,
31. Taj-Mahal,
32. India,
33. silk route,
34. trading cities,
35. Skythen,
36. Chinese script,
37. medicine,
38. Konfuzius,
39. civilisation(s),
40. porcelain,
41. enormous wealth,
42. mummifications,
43. n/a,
44. Dalayama,
45. Nepal,
46. Kiew Ruß (etc),
47. old tsars,
48. Marco Polo,
49. nomadic peoples,
50. trade,
51. Asia Minor,
52. Hinduism.

S.I.16.3.c (summary I – Ancient Asia):

710. World history:

2,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15??,16,18,20,21,22,23,24,28,29,30,31,32,33,36,37,38,40,44,45,
51,52

711. Unspecified: 1,3,4,5?,7?,25?,26,27,34,39,41,42?,49,50

712. German, European and world history: 19

713. German and world: 17

714. European and world: 35,46,48

715. European: 47

NoKW16.3.c.I.(category I): number of keywords associated with ancient Asia

16.3.a.II (Category II – ancient China):

1. civilisation,
2. porcelain,
3. cities,
4. medicine (far advanced),
5. fireworks,
6. nomads,
7. huge empire,
8. strong army,
9. good a horse-riding,
10. tyranny,
11. weird mentality,
12. we owe a lot to China,
13. silk,
14. music,
15. paintings,
16. strict hierarchical order,
17. highly educated,
18. laws,
19. Terracotta Army.

S.II. 16.3.a (Summary II – ancient China):

80. World history: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,17,18,19

81. German and world history: 12

NoKW16.3.a.II (category II): number of keywords associated with ancient China

16.3.b.II (Category II – the Huns):

1. evil people,

2. warlike people,
3. horsemen,
4. Etzel,
5. legends,
6. Hungarians,
7. attacked us,
8. brought culture to us.

SII.16.3.b (summary II – the Hunns):

- 90.** World history: 1,2,3,4,
- 91.** Unspecified: 5 (because not clear which legends they mean)
- 92.** European history:6
- 93.** German and world history: 7,8

NoKW16.3.b.II (category II): number of keywords associated with the Huns

16.4.e.I (Category I – ancient Europe):

1. Bajuwaren,
2. Gallier,
3. Germanic tribes,
4. Celts,
5. Lombards,
6. christianisation/Christianity/the church,
7. St. Ulrich,
8. crusades,
9. East and West Rome (and their impact on religion),
10. Islam expands to Europe,
11. Dark Ages,
12. things that happened a lot later,
13. Mauren,
14. Vikings,
15. Saxons,
16. William the Conqueror,
17. Stone Age,
18. Bronze Age,
19. Iron Age
20. Charlemagne,
21. Gods, heathen religions,
22. Huns,
23. no sophisticated culture,
24. monasteries,
25. the first Pope,
26. Romans on Germanic soil,
27. Kiewer Ruß,

- 28. Battle of Lake Paipus,
- 29. simple life,
- 30. bands,
- 31. Emergence of states/nation-states/city-states
- 32. battles,
- 33. Thing,
- 34. ancient Iceland,
- 35. Slavs,
- 36. settlements/villages.

S.I.16.4.e (Summary I – ancient Europe):

- 810.** Local history: 1,15
- 811.** European history: 2,16,25,28,34,35
- 812.** German history: 3,7
- 813.** Local and European history: 4
- 814.** German and European history: 5,6,11,14,20,24,26,33
- 815.** Unspecified: 17,18,19,21,23,29,30,31,32,36
- 816.** German, European and world history: 8,22
- 817.** European and world history: 9,10,13,27
- 818.** Other: 12

NoKW16.4.3.e.I (category I): number of keywords associated with ancient Europe

16.4.a.II (Category II– Prehistory):

- 1. Ötzi/the man in the ice,
- 2. we were less advanced than the Egyptians and the peoples on the Asian continent,
- 3. Germanic tribes,
- 4. extinction of the Neanderthals.

S.II.16.4.a (summary II – prehistory):

- 1.** European history: 1
- 2.** German and world history: 2
- 3.** German history: 3
- 4.** Unspecified: 4

NoKW16.4.a.II (category II): number of keywords associated with European prehistory

16.4.b.II (Category II – the Greeks):

- 1. Legends,
- 2. Hercules,

3. gods,
4. Heracles,
5. Zeus,
6. ‚303 bei Issos Keilerei‘,
7. Gordian Knot,
8. Alexander the Great,
9. Olympic games,
10. temple,
11. Akropolis,
12. scholars,
13. philosophers,
14. Aristotle,
15. the building of cities,
16. wine,
17. Troy/Trojan War,
18. Achilles,
19. Helen of Troy,
20. Minoans,
21. Linea A and B,
22. Platon,
23. Socrates,
24. Sparta,
25. Athens,
26. Conflict: Sparta and Athens,
27. great culture,
28. ‚Ärtzebaum‘,
29. highly educated people,
30. ‚Schöngeist‘,
31. mathematics,
32. sciences,
33. decline due to decadence,
34. colonies,
35. battles/wars,
36. Persian Wars,
37. Talis (a great General),
38. Homer,
39. Odysseus,
40. architectural styles,
41. foundation of Europe,
42. Marathon,
43. Hera
44. Archimedes,
45. Pythagoras,
46. trade,
47. ships,
48. city-states,
49. social inequality,
50. slaves,
51. Delphi,
52. Amphitheatre,

53. cradle of democracy,
54. Minos Taurus,
55. unification of Greece,
56. highly cultivated peoples,
57. Illias,
58. homosexuality,
59. Punic Wars,
60. martial arts,
61. writing/script,
62. Hektor,
63. first coins,
64. Crete – the starting point,
65. cradle of world history,
66. drama,
67. Drakon, Draconian punishment,
68. Mycenae,
69. progressive,
70. rights for slaves,
71. Xantippe,
72. the seven wonders of the world,
73. Knossos,
74. Orpheus,
75. art.

S.II.16.4.b (summary II – the Greeks):

910. European history:

1,2,3,4,5,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,29,30,31,32,33,37,38,39,40,42,43,44,45,47,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58,60,61,62,63,64,65,66,67,68,69,70,71,73,74,75

911. European and world history: 6,7,8,17,34,36,46,59,72

912. German and European history: 28?,41?

913. Unspecified: 35

NoKW16.4.b.II (category II): number of keywords associated with the Greeks

16.4.c.II (Category II – the Romans):

1. Nero,
2. Brutus,
3. expansion of the empire, conquest,
4. Attila,
5. Limes,
6. irrigation system,
7. surveys,
8. East and West Rome,

9. Remus and Romulus,
10. decline/death of the empire,
11. christianisation/origins of Christianity,
12. Constantine,
13. gladiators,
14. coliseum,
15. temple
16. Augustus,
17. a very big empire/about the size of the empire,
18. a great culture,
19. monumental buildings,
20. ‚*Schaukämpfe/Wettspiele*‘,
21. strict/tight organisation,
22. economic power,
23. warlike people/wars/a great number of wars,
24. (the first) world power,
25. culture and art not as good/sophisticated as those of the Greeks,
26. the German Reich was modelled on the Roman Empire,
27. persecution of Christians,
28. bread and games,
29. Carthage (war with Carthage),
30. legal system,
31. architecture,
32. agriculture,
33. coinage,
34. emperor,
35. migration period,
36. Pompeii,
37. Punic Wars,
38. slaves,
39. ‚*Katakomben*‘,
40. fighting barbarians,
41. Cleopatra,
42. Gallies,
43. Byzantium,
44. a strong cultural influence on Europe,
45. progressive,
46. military campaigns,
47. Varus battle,
48. art – very good/sophisticated,
49. sciences - great,
50. Trier,
51. civilisation,
52. good roads,
53. aqueducts,
54. Cicero,
55. senate/senators,
56. provinces,
57. ‚*Vasallen Staat*‘,
58. Theoderich,

- 59. power-hungry,
- 60. philosophers,
- 61. n/a,
- 62. struggles for power,
- 63. oppression/fight against other peoples,
- 64. take over from Greece,
- 65. triumphal arches.

S.II.16.4.c (summary II – the Romans):

310. European history:

1,2,6,7,9,12,13,14,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,24,25,27,28,30,31,32,33,34,36,38,39,42,45,48,
49,51,52,53,54,55,57,59,60,62,64,65

311. German, European and world history: 3,4,10,17,35,56

312. German and European history: 5?, 26,44,47,50,58?

313. European and world history: 8,11

314. Unspecified: 23,40,46,63

315. European and world history: 29,37

316. World history: 41,43

NoKW16.4.c.II (category II): number of keywords associated with the Romans

16.4.d.II (Category II – Middle Ages):

- 1. 'Ostgotenreich',
- 2. uncivilised.

S.II.16.4.d (summary II – Middle Ages):

1. European and world history: 1

2. German and European history: 2

NoKW16.4.d.II (category II): number of keywords associated with the Middle Ages

Question 17.

Could you please elaborate where, and to what extent, you think you have learned about the different periods in world history?

10.1. The ancient African past:

a. school:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

c. Books:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

d. Films:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

e. Media:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

f. Other:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.2. The history of the ancient Orient:

a. school:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

c. Books:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

d. Films:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

e. Media:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

f. Other:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.3. Ancient Asia:

a. school:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

c. Books:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

d. Films:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

e. Media:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

f. Other:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

10.4. Ancient European history:

a. school:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

b. Tourism/visits to museums, sites, memorials:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

c. Books:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

d. Films:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

e. Media:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

f. Other:

very much, much, not sure, hardly any, not at all.

Coding for Question 17:

500 = n/a

1. very much,
2. much,
3. not sure,
4. hardly any,

5. not at all.

Summary 17:

1. 1 (very much) and 2 (much),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (hardly any) and 5 (not at all).

Question 18

Some people believe that the foundations for our modern society in Germany were laid in the ancient past. What is your opinion? Please explain your answers and name examples where possible.

18.1. In ancient times great cultural and artistic achievements were made that still – until this day - influence people in Germany:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

18.2. We owe the basis of our current social order in Germany to the ancient past:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

18.3. The basis for our political order was laid in the ancient past:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

18.4. In the ancient past the preconditions for the emergence of a German state in northern/central Europe were created:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

18.5. In the ancient past ethnic (for example, Swabians) and national (for example, Germans, French) groups were formed that still exist until today:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

18.6. The ancient past has nothing to do with modern-day Germany:

strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

Coding for Question 18.1.:

500=n/a

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary – S18.1.:

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.1. = 18.1.a

18.1.1. = when chosen 1 (I strongly agree)

- 18.1.2. = when chosen 2 (I agree)
- 18.1.3. = when chosen 3 (not sure)
- 18.1.4. = when chosen 4 (I disagree)
- 18.1.5. = when chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. Ancient history still has an impact on modern sciences.
2. Egyptian technology has an impact on us.
3. Examples from later periods.
4. The Romans influenced us.
5. Roman technology influenced us.
6. The ancient past has had/has an impact on our architecture.
7. Roman architecture has/has had an impact on modern city-planning/city-layout.
8. Ancient history has had/has an impact on art in our country.
9. Our cultural history was influenced by ancient history.
10. Greek architecture has/has had an impact on our architecture.
11. n/a
12. Everything is a development/a process – everything influences everything else.
13. Ancient German history has an impact on us.
14. Greek legends/plays/tragedies have/have had an impact on us – they are still read/performed today.
15. Medieval architecture can still be found in Germany today.
16. The ancient past influences/ is important to the present because of cultural tourism and museums.
17. Ancient Greece (in general) has/has had an impact on us.
18. Christianity has an impact on us/ancient history influenced our religion – Christianity.
19. We have learned from past wars.
20. Our literature is/has been influenced by the ancient past.
21. Our music is/has been influenced by the ancient past.
22. Our art is/has been influenced by Roman art.
23. Our music is/has been influenced by Greek music.
24. The war between the Romans and the Germanic tribes has had an impact on our lives.
25. Rome has had an impact on us because the Holy Roman Empire was based on the Roman Empire.
26. Greek philosophy has/had an impact on us.
27. Greek culture has/had an impact on us.
28. No example – it is just a feeling.
29. The Germanic past has/had an influence on us.
30. Our burial rites originate in the ancient past.
31. Ancient astronomy has/had an impact on our sciences/astronomy.
32. Ancient mathematics has/had an impact on us.
33. Ancient medicine has/had an impact on our medical knowledge/practices.
34. Ancient Egypt has/had an impact on us.
35. The names of modern ethnic groups originate in the ancient past.
36. Roman culture has/had an impact on us.
37. Greek science/research has/had an influence on modern sciences.
38. Roman law has had an impact on our law/judicial system.
39. Greek mathematics has/had an impact on our mathematical knowledge/science.

40. Could not say – does not have the knowledge to judge.
 41. Today everything is different to how it used to be.

S.I.18.1.:

- 110.** Unspecified/Overlapping/General: 1,6,8,9,12,13,16,18,19,20,21,29,30,31,32,33,35
111. ACE: 2,34
112. Other: 3,28,40,41
113. Roman: 4,5,7,22,24,25,36,38
114. Greeks: 10,14,17,23,26,27,37,39
115. Medieval: 15

S.II.18.1.

- 210.** Unspecified: 1,6,8,9,12,16,18,19,20,21,30,31,32,33,35
211. World history: 2,34
212. Other: 3,28,40,41
213. European history: 4,5,10,14,17,22,23,25,26,27,36,37,38,39
214. German: 13,15,29
215. German and European history: 7,24

Coding for Question 18.2.

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary (S.18.2.):

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.2.=18.1.b

- 18.2.1 = applies to those who have chosen 1 (I strongly agree)
 18.2.2. = applies to those who have chosen 2 (I agree)
 18.2.3. = applies to those who have chosen 3 (I am not sure)
 18.2.4. = applies to those who have chosen 4 (I disagree)
 18.2.5. = applies to those who have chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. History is a constant development/everything influences everything else.
2. The ancient past has/had an impact on craftsmanship/professions.
3. The aristocracy have their origins in the ancient past (although they officially do not exist anymore).
4. These things emerged later in history.
5. Everything was different back then.
6. Only a few basics emerged in ancient times.
7. Ancient history has had an impact on us, but things would have turned out the same without the influence of the ancient past.
8. One has learned from the past/from past mistakes.
9. The church has had an impact on us.
10. The Roman legal system has influenced us.

S.I.18.2.

310. Unspecified: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9

311. Other: 4,5

312. Roman history: 10

S.II.18.2.

410. Unspecified: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9

411. Other: 4,5

Coding for Question 18.3.

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary (S.18.3.):

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.3. = 18.1.c

18.3.1 = applies to those who have chosen 1 (I strongly agree)

18.3.2. = applies to those who have chosen 2 (I agree)

18.3.3. = applies to those who have chosen 3 (I am not sure)

18.3.4. = applies to those who have chosen 4 (I disagree)

18.3.5. = applies to those who have chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. The Roman senate has/had an impact on us.
2. Greek democracy has/had an impact on us.
3. The EU is based on Charlemagne's empire.
4. The EU is based on the Roman Empire.
5. Democracy.
6. Our political system is based on the Greeks.
7. Our political system is based on the Romans.
8. Nation-states emerged in ancient history: Germany and France were separated in the ancient past (and remained that way until this day).
9. The Balkans – until today its an area of crises.
10. Ancient political systems were different – they had different power-structures– we do not have a king and live in a democracy.
11. The Christian way of live has/had an impact on our political system.
12. The 10 Commandments have/had an impact on our political system.
13. There are a few ancient role-models but most of our political system developed later.
14. Democracy in Rome has/does influence us.
15. One learns from past mistakes/from history.
16. History is a constant development – everything influences everything else.
17. nothing
18. Some of the basics of our political system emerged in ancient times but things also changed over time.
19. The basis of our political system emerged much later.
20. Primordial society was a basic form of democracy/developed into democracy.

S.I.18.3.

510. Roman history: 1,4,7,14

511. The Greeks: 2,6

512. Medieval history: 3,8

513. Unspecified: 5,9,11,12,13,15,16,18

514. Other: 10,19

515. Prehistory: 20

S.II.18.3.

610. European history: 1,2,4?,6,7,9,14

611. German and European history: 3,8

612. Unspecified: 5,11,12,13,15,16,18,20

613. Other: 10,19

Coding for Question 18.4.

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary (S.18.4.):

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.4. = 18.1.d

- 18.4.1 = applies to those who have chosen 1 (I strongly agree)
 18.4.2. = applies to those who have chosen 2 (I agree)
 18.4.3. = applies to those who have chosen 3 (I am not sure)
 18.4.4. = applies to those who have chosen 4 (I disagree)
 18.4.5. = applies to those who have chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. The idea of a German state emerged in ancient times.
2. The first German state was created by Otto I..
3. Charlemagne founded the basis of the German state.
4. It is a step-by-step development that has started in the ancient past.
5. The German state originated at the time of Ludwig the German.
6. These things developed later on in history.
7. The Frank Empire is the basis for modern conditions.
8. The borders were roughly laid out in the ancient past.
9. The preconditions for the foundation of the German state emerged during the migration period.
10. The German state originates in Germanic prehistory – roots.
11. The different races emerged in ancient times – states were founded on this basis.
12. The German language originates in the ancient past.
13. The Holy Roman Empire can be seen as the starting-point of the German state.
14. The Merowinger have an impact on us.

S.1.18.4.

710. Medieval history: 2,3,5,7,9,13,14

711. Unspecified/overlapping: 1,4,8,10??,11,12

712. Other: 6

S.II.18.4.

810. German history: 10

811. Unspecified: 1,4,8,11,12

812. German and European history: 2,3,5,7,13,14

813. German, European and world history: 9?

814. Other: 6

Coding for Question 18.5.

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary (S.18.5.):

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.5. = 18.1.e

18.5.1 = applies to those who have chosen 1 (I strongly agree)

18.5.2. = applies to those who have chosen 2 (I agree)

18.5.3. = applies to those who have chosen 3 (I am not sure)

18.5.4. = applies to those who have chosen 4 (I disagree)

18.5.5. = applies to those who have chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. Religious groups,
2. Bavarians,
3. Swabians,
4. Franks,
5. Saxons,
6. Italians/Italy (from the Romans),
7. Scotland,
8. the small states within Yugoslavia (from the Greeks),
9. Yes, they did emerge in ancient times but this is not important – it's the national affiliations that count, being German.
10. Sorbs,
11. 'Räter' (Romanic part of Switzerland),
12. Germanen,
13. Spain (Goths),

14. languages and dialects emerged in ancient history,
15. the French (Goths),
16. the English (Celts),
17. the Germans (Germanic tribes),
18. Slavs,
19. Prussians,
20. 'Elsässer',
21. Hessian,
22. East and West – Europe,
23. Bundesländer (provinces),
24. nationalities emerged later in history,
25. the ethnic groups were only roughly formed,
26. emerged later in history,
27. everything is subject to constant development – everything influences everything else.
28. Jews,
29. the Danes (from the Nordic peoples, the Vikings),
30. Serbs,
31. 'Mecklemburger',
32. national groups yes, ethnic groups no,
33. 'Thüringer',
34. Anglo-Saxons,
35. Lower Saxony/Saxons,
36. Asians,
37. different countries,
38. Turks,
39. partly – some ethnic groups survive others did not,
40. Hungarians (Huns),
41. the Irish (Celts).

S.I. 18.5.

Doesn't apply

S.II. 18.5.

910. Local history: 2,3,4,5,10

911. German history: 12,17,19,20,21,23,31,33,35

912. European history: 6,7,8,11,13,15,16,18,29,30,34?,40,41

913. German and European history: 22

914. World history: 28,36,38,40

915. Unspecified: 1,14,25,27,32,37,39

916. Other: 9,24,26

Coding for Question 18.6.

1. strongly agree,
2. agree,
3. not sure,
4. disagree,
5. strongly disagree.

Summary (S.18.6.):

1. 1 (strongly agree) and 2 (agree),
2. 3 (not sure),
3. 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

18.6. = 18.1.f

18.6.1 = applies to those who have chosen 1 (I strongly agree)

18.6.2. = applies to those who have chosen 2 (I agree)

18.6.3. = applies to those who have chosen 3 (I am not sure)

18.6.4. = applies to those who have chosen 4 (I disagree)

18.6.5. = applies to those who have chosen 5 (I strongly disagree)

1. Everything is build on things that have gone before/history always has something to do with the present.
2. Ancient history has had an impact on the present – but not that much.
3. Ancient history has influenced us mainly through religion.
4. Ancient history has influenced our culture but not the way we conduct/organise our lives.
5. People try to learn from past mistakes.
6. Ancient history is the basis of our existence.

Question 19.1.-19.6.:

There is much debate about if, how and which ancient past can explain the emergence and development of Germany. Which of the following statements do you agree with most?

- a) The ancient German past is more important than the ancient past of other places to explain the origins of Germany.**
- b) It does not make a difference whose ancient history we are studying; history underwent the same developments and processes all over the world.**
- c) In order to understand the development of German history we must study the ancient Greeks and/or the Romans – without the Classical heritage Germany would be very different today.**
- d) Neither the ancient German past nor the ancient past of other places in the world has anything to do with the present in Germany.**
- e) I am not in a position to judge this/to tell.**
- f) None of the above.**

Coding for Question 19.1.-19.6.:

500=n/a

19.1.a = 19.1.

19.1.b = 19.2.

19.1.c = 19.3.

19.1.d = 19.4.

19.1.e = 19.5.

19.1.f. = 19.6.

0. no tick,

1. ticked.

Summary – S.19.:

1. a)

2. b)

3. c)

4. d)

5. e)

6. f)
7. b) & c)
8. a) & c)
9. b), c) & d)
10. a) & e)
11. a), b) & c)

Question 19.7.:

Can you please explain your answer?

Coding for Question 19.7.:

- 19.7.1.: applies to those who have chosen a and c.
- 19.7.2.: applies to those who have chosen b and c.
- 19.7.3.: applies to those who have chosen b.
- 19.7.4.: applies to those who have chosen b, c and d.
- 19.7.5.: applies to those who have chosen c.
- 19.7.6.: applies to those who have chosen a, b and c.

1. One cannot view history in isolation; one always has to consider the history of other countries to understand one's own past. Everything influences everything else.
2. Every country was influenced by the Romans and the Greeks (and other cultures) – some processes are the same everywhere but what is made out of these situations differs from country to country.
3. The processes are always the same but the Germans and the Europeans have learned more from Greece/Rome than the people in the Orient.
4. Greece/Rome is the cradle of our democracy – precondition for our way of living.
5. German history is important for people's sense of national identity; it is important to understand one's nation.
6. History is repetitive – the general processes are always the same, not simultaneous everywhere.
7. The Romans were in Germany and therefore had a direct influence on the country.
8. There are certain processes that are the same all over the world. But the Romans and the Greeks are important too – without them things would have been very different. However, many things only emerged much later in history anyway.
9. We were primitive and had to learn from others. Others were much more advanced and influenced our less sophisticated culture (some people have suggested that Iraq and Egypt also had an impact on us).
10. One cannot limit it to the Romans and the Greeks – other cultures (for example, the Egyptians) were also important.
11. We would not have a history with the Classical past.

Question 20.1.-20.5.:

The ancient German past has often been compared to the history of ancient Greece and Rome. In this comparison people have reached very different conclusions. Which of the following statements do you agree with most?

- a) It is completely normal that as German I am more interested in the ancient German past than in the ancient history of other countries and cultures.**
- b) I think the ancient German past is embarrassing in comparison to the ancient past of the Greeks and Romans who have reached a much higher level of civilisation long before us.**
- c) I do not think it is right to distinguish between the ancient German past and the ancient past of Greece and Rome – these cultures have greatly influenced the development of Germany and are therefore part of our history.**
- d) I think that ancient history is irrelevant for the present and am therefore not interested in a comparison between the ancient German past and the history of other places and cultures/civilisations**
- e) None of the above.**

Coding for Question 20.1.-20.5.:

500=n/a

20.1.a = 20.1.
20.1.b = 20.2.
20.1.c = 20.3.
20.1.d = 20.4.
20.1.e = 20.5

0. no tick,
1. ticked.

Summary – S.20:

- 1. a)
- 2. b)
- 3. c)
- 4. d)
- 5. e)
- 6. a) & c)
- 7. b) & c)
- 8. c) & d)

Question 20.6.-20.10:

Could you please explain your answer?

Coding for Question 20.6.-20.10.:

20.6. = applies to those who have chosen a.

20.7. = applies to those who have chosen b.

20.8. = applies to those who have chosen c.

20.9. = applies to those who have chosen b and c.

20.10. = applies to those who have chosen e.

1. c) – but one still has to differentiate between different cultures.
2. b) – is true but it is not embarrassing.
3. It is important to deal with/confront one's own history.
4. Especially the Romans – they are an integral apart of German history, they were here before Germany even existed.
5. Everything is connected to everything else – one always has to view things in connection to other things, in context.
6. It has absolutely nothing to do with Germany if one is interested in something or not.
7. It does not matter if one's people/nation was primitive in the past or not.

Question 21.1-21.4.:

People often argue about who the remains of ancient cultures and civilisations belong to. Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

- 1. In my opinion the remains of ancient ‘German’ history belong the Germans and they can do with them whatever they like.**
- 2. I believe that the ancient German past is European cultural heritage and that therefore the whole of Europe has a right to it.**
- 3. I believe that the ancient German past is world heritage and that everyone in the world should have equal rights to it.**
- 4. None of the above.**

Not used in the thesis.

Question 22.1.

People have different views about history. What is your opinion?

- a. It is important to study/deal with history because we can learn from the past.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- b. History is interesting because it explains the present.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- c. Studying/dealing with history is positive because I am proud of my history and
feel good when I look back on German history.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- d. Studying/dealing with history is important because by looking at the past we
better understand what we should aim for in the future.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- e. History is entertaining.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- f. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is boring.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- g. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is complicated and difficult
to understand.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- h. I am not interested in history because it is irrelevant to the present.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**
- i. I am not interested in history because it is painful and I do not want to think
about it.
strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree**

Coding for Question 22.1.:

- 1. I strongly agree.**
- 2. I agree.**
- 3. I am not sure.**
- 4. I disagree.**
- 5. I strongly disagree.**

Summary – S22.1.a-S22.1.i:

1. 1 (I strongly agree) and 2 (I agree),
2. 3 (I am not sure),
3. 4 (I disagree) and 5 (I strongly disagree).

Question 22.2.

In your opinion has an important reason for or against studying/dealing with history not been mentioned in Question 21.1.?

Coding in Question 22.2.:

1. yes,
2. no.

Question 22.3.

If so, which one(s)?

Coding for Question 22.3.:

500 = n/a

1. History is important for people's sense of identity/helps orientation in time/life.
2. One has not got time to study/deal with history.
3. Women do not tend to talk about these things with each other.
4. Because the history teacher was rubbish one never developed an interest in history.
5. Many young people are shallow – they are not interested in these things.
6. To write the history of the winners, '*Siegesgeschichte*'.
7. Studying/dealing with history raises the quality of life.
8. One is hungry for knowledge.

Question 23.:

Do you remember your history education in school? Could you tell me what you think should have been done better and which aspects you particularly liked/found useful [did not like]?

Coding for Question 23.:

1. Too many dates: negative.
2. Too dry: negative.
3. Not interesting/boring: negative.
4. The teacher was good/did his/her job well: positive.
5. There was too little time dedicated to history in the timetable – so there was too much ground to cover in too little time: negative.
6. There was too much of one topic/subject area: negative.
7. There was no red line/connection between the subject areas: negative.
8. Too many facts: negative.
9. Some teaching methods were very good: positive.
10. Some teaching materials were especially good: positive.
11. The teacher was boring, not good/ did not do his/her job well: negative.
12. The lessons were great/good/loved it: positive.
13. One could/should have taught the subject in more practical terms: negative.
14. There was not enough one topic/subject area: negative.
15. It is too long ago – cannot remember.
16. N/a
17. Connections between topics were clear: positive.
18. The lessons were bad: negative.
19. The lessons were practical: positive.
20. The lessons were exciting/interesting: positive.
21. There were no discussions: negative.
22. One has learned a lot/acquired a sound basis of knowledge: positive.
23. Some teaching materials were bad: negative.
24. The lessons were not appropriate for the students' age: negative.
25. There was too much ideological colouring: negative.
26. There were many discussions: positive.
27. The lessons were not one-sided: positive.

S.I.23:

220. Positive: 4,9,10,12,17,19,20,22,26,27

110. Negative: 1,2,3,5,6,7,8,11,13,14,18,21,23,24,25

330. Other: 15

23.6. – applies to those who have chosen 6:

500=n/a

1. WWII,
2. the Greeks,
3. the Romans,
4. the Egyptians,
5. WWI,
6. the Third Reich,
7. nothing specific – just too much of some things,
8. everything from 1939 onwards,
9. workers' movement,
10. Marxism,
11. GDR/SED-history,
12. revolutionary history/class struggle,
13. Anti-fascism.

23.7. – applies to those who have chosen 14:

500=n/a

1. The time after 1945,
2. the Classical period,
3. non-German history,
4. GDR history,
5. German history/the history of the German '*Volk*',
6. unspecific – some things were not taught enough,
7. regional history,
8. ancient German history,
9. ancient history in general,
10. everything that is not GDR history,
11. medieval history,
12. all the wars that took place after 1945,
13. history of religion.

Question 24.:

Do you remember if you mainly learned from a textbook [in your history education]?

Coding to Question 24.:

24.a.:

1. Yes, we have – almost exclusively.
2. Yes, we have – but not exclusively.
3. No, I cannot remember.
4. No, we have not.

24.b. – applies to those who have chosen 2) or 4):

500=n/a

1. Lecture/presentation by the teacher, notes handed out by the teacher, stories, pictures on the blackboard.
2. The teacher brought in other teaching materials (for examples films, sources, maps, ‘*Wandbilder*’ etc.).
3. Excursions and site/museum visits.

Question 25.:

I divided sources from which we can learn about the past in four categories:

- a.) Archaeological remains,**
- b.) Legends and folk tales,**
- c.) Religious texts,**
- d.) Historical documents and accounts.**

Do you remember if you have learned about the work with different sources in your history education?

Coding for Question 25.:

25.1.:

1. Yes, we have learned about the work with all four sources.
2. Yes, we have learned about the work with some of these (not all) sources.
3. No, I cannot remember.
4. No, we have not learned about the work with any of these sources.

25.2. – applies to those who chose 2:

500=n/a

1. Archaeology,
2. Legends and folk tales,
3. Religious texts,
4. historical documents and accounts.

Question 26.:

Which of the four sources do you personally find most interesting?

- e.) Archaeological remains,**
- f.) Legends and folk tales,**
- g.) Religious texts,**
- h.) Historical documents and accounts (Urkunden, Historiker aus alter Zeit),**
- i.) I am not sure.**

Note used in the thesis.

Question 27.:

Which of the following statements do you agree with most ...

- a) ... Historical knowledge is largely subjective – historians and archaeologists have to work with patchy materials and have to interpret their finds from their personal point of view/background.**
- b) ... Historical knowledge is fact; historians and archaeologists work with facts.**
- c) ... I am not sure/I cannot judge that.**
- d) ... None of the above.**

Coding of Question 27.:

- 1. a) but b) is also true to some extent.
- 2. Between a) and b).
- 3. c).
- 4. b) but a) is also true to some extent.
- 5. b).
- 6. a).

Section Seven

Interview Data – Tables

Group of tables 1

Refers to the first main analysis-question (note: the tables are listed in the order in which the respective interview questions are mentioned in the main text): Do former ‘Middle School’ students have a sense of national identity? If so, how does it relate to other forms of social and territorial identity? Which ‘building-blocks’ (ethnic, civic and cultural) is it based on?

Question 1.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
	Total: Summary – Important , 2 (S1.1.)	Bavaria: Summary – Important, 2 (S1.1.)	Saxony: Summary – Important , 2 (S1.1.)	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square (based on S1.1.: 1 and 2)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range, Re-coded 1.1.: 1-4)
a. My current profession (or being a home- maker)	36 58,1%	17 53,1%	19 63,3%	No (Sig = .416)	No (Sig = .325)
b. My ethnic background	6 9,7%	4 12,5%	2 6,7%	n/a	No (Sig = .506)
c. My gender (being a man or a woman)	18 29,0%	10 31,3%	8 26,7%	No (Sig = .691)	No (Sig = .869)
d. My age group	16 25,8%	7 21,9%	9 30,0%	No (Sig = .465)	No (Sig = .446)
e. My religion	2 3,2%	1 3,1%	1 3,3%	n/a	No (Sig = .964)
f. My favoured political party or movement	12 19,4%	3 9,4%	9 30,0%	Yes (Sig = .040)	Yes (SR = -.256, Sig = .045)
g. My nationality	10 16,1%	8 25,0%	2 6,7%	n/a	Yes (SR = .257, Sig = .044)
h. My family or my marital status (being a son/daughter, being a husband/wife, being single)	40 64,5%	20 62,5%	20 66,7%	No (Sig = .939)	No (Sig = .506)
i. My social class	5 8,1%	2 6,3%	3 10,0%	n/a	No (Sig = .555)
j. The area in which I live	33 53,2%	21 65,6%	12 40,0%	Yes (Sig = .043)	No (SR = .210, Sig = .102)
k. My place of birth	9 14,5%	3 9,4%	6 20,0%	n/a	No (Sig = .239)

Frequencies, percentages and the Chi Square test are based on the summary (coding – S1.1.): not important to people (1) and important to people (2)

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding R1.1.): (1) most important, (2) second most important, (3) third most important, (4) not important

Question 1.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)					
	Total: Summary – Important , 2 (S1.1.)	Bavaria: Summary – Important, 2 (S1.1.)	Saxony: Summary – Important , 2 (S1.1.)	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square (based on S1.1.: 1 and 2)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range, Re-coded 1.1.: 1-4)
a. My current profession (or being a home- maker)	36 58,1%	12 42,9%	24 70,6%	Yes (Sig = .028)	No (Sig = .217)
b. My ethnic background	6 9,7%	3 10,7%	3 8,8%	n/a	No (Sig = .849)
c. My gender (being a man or a woman)	18 29,0%	13 46,4%	5 14,7%	Yes (Sig = .006)	Yes (SR = .336, Sig = .008)
d. My age group	16 25,8%	10 35,7%	6 17,6%	No (Sig = .106)	No (SR = .211, Sig = .100)
e. My religion	2 3,2%	2 7,1%	0 .0%	n/a	No (SR = .201, Sig = .117)
f. My favoured political party or movement	12 19,4%	4 14,3%	8 23,5%	No (Sig = .359)	No (Sig = .370)
g. My nationality	10 16,1%	5 17,9%	5 14,7%	n/a	No (Sig = .646)
h. My family or my marital status (being a son/daughter, being a husband/wife, being single)	40 64,5%	14 50,0%	26 76,5%	Yes (Sig = .030)	Yes (SR = -.254, Sig = .047)
i. My social class	5 8,1%	3 10,7%	2 5,9%	n/a	No (Sig = .505)
j. The area in which I live	33 53,2%	13 46,4%	20 58,8%	No (Sig = .330)	No (Sig = .331)
k. My place of birth	9 14,5%	6 21,4%	3 8,8%	n/a	No (SR = .179, Sig = .164)

Frequencies, percentages and the Chi Square test are based on the summary (coding – S1.1.): not important to people (1) and important to people (2)

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding R1.1.): (1) most important, (2) second most important, (3) third most important, (4) not important

Question 1.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
1. societies/clubs	2
2. interests, hobbies, sports, leisure activities	6
3. friends and neighbours	3
4. personality	1
8. East German	2
9. social status (based on material conditions, academic background etc.)	2
10. being European	1
11. n/a (500)	47

Question 2.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Area – how close do you feel to the following ...	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S.2.1.)	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S2.1.)	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S2.1.)	
a... your village/part of town.	49 79%	4 6.5%	9 14.5%	23 71.9%	2 6.3%	7 21.9%	26 86.7%	2 6.7%	2 6.7%	No (Sig = .206)
b. ... the province in which you live.	42 67.7%	9 14.5%	11 17.7%	27 84.4%	2 6.3%	3 9.4%	15 50%	7 23.3%	8 26.7%	Yes (SR = .396, Sig = .001)
c. ... East/West Germany.	39 62.9%	6 9.7%	17, 27.4%	12 37.5%	6 18.8%	14 43.8%	27 90%	0 0%	3 10%	Yes (SR = -.552, Sig = .000)
d. ... Germany	43 69.4%	9 14.5%	10 16.1%	28 87.5%	2 6.3%	2 6.3%	15 50%	7 23.3%	8 26.7%	Yes (SR = .298, Sig = .019)
e. ... Europe	35 56.5%	8 12.9%	19 30.6%	20 62.5%	3 9.4%	9 28.1%	15 50%	5 16.7%	10 33.3%	No (Sig = .339)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S2.1.): (1) very close, close, (2) not sure, (3) not very close, not close at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 2.1.): very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all.

Question 2.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Area – how close do you feel to the following ...	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S.2.1.)	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S2.1.)	1 (S2.1.)	2 (S2.1.)	3 (S2.1.)	
a... your village/part of town.	49 79%	4 6.5%	9 14.5%	19 67.9%	3 10.7%	6 21.4%	30 88.2%	1 2.9%	3 8.8%	No (SR = - .197, Sig = .126)
b. ... the province in which you live.	42 67.7%	9 14.5%	11 17.7%	15 53.6%	7 25%	6 21.4%	27 79.4%	2 5.9%	5 14.7%	No (SR = - .194, Sig = .132)
c. ... East/West Germany.	39 62.9%	6 9.7%	17 27.4%	14 50%	3 10.7%	11 39.3%	25 73.5%	3 8.8%	6 17.6%	Yes (SR = - .334, Sig = .008)
d. ... Germany	43 69.4%	9 14.5%	10 16.1%	19 67.9%	2 7.1%	7 25%	24 70.6%	7 20.6%	3 8.8%	No (Sig = .335)
e. ... Europe	35 56.5%	8 12.9%	19 30.6%	17 60.7%	5 17.9%	6 21.4%	18 52.9%	3 8.8%	13 38.2%	No (Sig = .416)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S2.1.): (1) very close, close, (2) not sure, (3) not very close, not close at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 2.1.): very close, close, not sure, not very close, not close at all.

Question/Coding 2.2.a: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	5
2	2
3	14
4	1
5	4
6	2
7	12
8	0
9	2
10	0
11	0
12	0
13	0
14	0
15	0
16	0
17	1
18	0
19	0
20	1
21	9
22	0
23	0
24	0
25	0
26	3
27	0
28	0

Question/Coding 2.2.b: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	2
2	1
3	3
4	1
5	7
6	2
7	3
8	1
9	2
10	1
11	3
12	0
13	1
14	0
15	0
16	1
17	1
18	2
19	0
20	0
21	11
22	0
23	1
24	0
25	0
26	0
27	0
28	0

Question/Coding 2.2.c: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	3
2	0
3	0
4	0
5	1
6	0
7	0
8	2
9	1
10	3
11	0
12	8
13	12
14	0
15	0
16	3
17	0
18	0
19	0
20	1
21	13
22	2
23	0
24	0
25	0
26	0
27	0
28	0

Question/Coding 2.2.d: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	0
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	2
9	0
10	0
11	3
12	1
13	4
14	0
15	4
16	3
17	2
18	2
19	1
20	0
21	15
22	1
23	1
24	0
25	0
26	0
27	0
28	0

Question/Coding 2.2.e: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	0
2	0
3	1
4	0
5	1
6	0
7	0
8	5
9	1
10	2
11	5
12	5
13	0
14	2
15	4
16	3
17	3
18	0
19	0
20	0
21	14
22	0
23	0
24	4
25	1
26	1
27	1
28	1

Q uestion 4.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
What makes a person „German“?	Interpretation	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	
... to have been born in Germany.	Civic element of national identity.	19 30,6%	3 4,8%	39 62,9%	11 34,4%	3 9,4%	18 56,3%	8 26,7%	0 ,0%	21 70,0%	No (SR = .169, Sig = .189)
... to have German citizenship.	Civic element of national identity.	42 67,7%	6 9,7%	13 21,0%	25 78,1%	2 6,3%	5 15,6%	17 56,7%	4 13,3%	8 26,7%	No (SR = .210, Sig = .101)
... to have lived in Germany for most of one's life.	Civic element of national identity. BUT Ambiguous	15 24,2%	8 12,9%	38 61,3%	10 31,3%	5 15,6%	17 53,1%	5 16,7%	3 10,0%	21 70,0%	No (SR = .218, Sig = .089)
... to be able to speak German.	Cultural element of national identity.	60 96,8%	0 0%	1 1,6%	32 100,0%	0 0%	0 0%	28 93,3%	0 0%	1 3,3%	No (Sig = .615)
... to be a Christian.	Cultural element of national identity BUT Ambiguous	6 9,7%	2 3,2%	53 85,5%	6 18,8%	2 6,3%	24 75,0%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	29 96,7%	No (SR = .191, Sig = .138)
... to respect the German political institutions and laws.	Civic element of national identity.	47 75,8%	8 12,9%	6 9,7%	27 84,4%	3 9,4%	2 6,3%	20 66,7%	5 16,7%	4 13,3%	No (Sig = .970)
... to have at least one German parent.	Ethnic element of national identity.	19 30,6%	6 9,7%	36 58,1%	10 31,3%	4 12,5%	18 56,3%	9 30,0%	2 6,7%	18 60,0%	No (SR = .170, Sig = .186)
... to feel German.	Civic element of national identity.	44 71,0%	5 8,1%	12 19,4%	24 75,0%	3 9,4%	5 15,6%	20 66,7%	2 6,7%	7 23,3%	No (Sig = .792)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding = S4.1.): (0) no answer, (1) very important, (2) not sure, (3) not very important, not important at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (0) no answer, (1) very important, (2) important, (3) not sure, (4) not very important, (5) not important at all.

Question 4.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
What makes a person „German“?	Interpretation	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	1 (S4.1.)	2 (S4.1.)	3 (S4.1.)	
... to have been born in Germany.	Civic element of national identity.	19 30,6%	3 4,8%	39 62,9%	6 21,4%	1 3,6%	20 71,4%	13 38,2%	2 5,9%	19 55,9%	No (SR = -.191, Sig = .137)
... to have German citizenship.	Civic element of national identity.	42 67,7%	6 9,7%	13 21,0%	14 50,0%	6 21,4%	7 25,0%	28 82,4%	0 ,0%	6 17,6%	No (Sig = .516)
... to have lived in Germany for most of one's life.	Civic element of national identity. B U T A m b i g u o u s	15 24,2%	8 12,9%	38 61,3%	8 28,6%	0 ,0%	19 67,9%	7 20,6%	8 23,5%	19 55,9%	No (Sig = .688)
... to be able to speak German.	Cultural element of national identity.	60 96,8%	0 0%	1 1,6%	26 92,9%	0 0%	1 3,6%	34 100,0%	0 0%	0 0%	No (Sig = .277)
... to be a Christian.	Cultural element of national identity B U T A m b i g u o u s	6 9,7%	2 3,2%	53 85,5%	1 3,6%	1 3,6%	25 89,3%	5 14,7%	1 2,9%	28 82,4%	No (SR = -.168, Sig = .192)
... to respect the German political institutions and laws.	Civic element of national identity.	47 75,8%	8 12,9%	6 9,7%	19 67,9%	6 21,4%	2 7,1%	28 82,4%	2 5,9%	4 11,8%	No (Sig = .256)
... to have at least one German parent.	Ethnic element of national identity.	19 30,6%	6 9,7%	36 58,1%	5 17,9%	2 7,1%	20 71,4%	14 41,2%	4 11,8%	16 47,1%	No (SR = -.233, Sig = .068)
... to feel German.	Civic element of national identity.	44 71,0%	5 8,1%	12 19,4%	21 75,0%	1 3,6%	5 17,9%	23 67,6%	4 11,8%	7 20,6%	No (SR = .178, Sig = .166)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding - S4.1.): (0) no answer, (1) very important, (2) not sure, (3) not very important, not important at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (0) no answer, (1) very important, (2) important, (3) not sure, (4) not very important, (5) not important at all.

Question 4.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	12
2	1
3	2
4	1
5	2
6	4
7	2
8	7
9	1
10	3
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	1
17	1
18	1
19	1
21	1
22	2
23	1
n/a (500)	37

Question/Coding 5.1.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
1	1	1.6%
2	5	8.1%
3	6	9.7%
4	14	22.6%
5	1	1.6%
7	1	1.6%
8	1	1.6%
9	3	4.8%
10	25	40.3%
11	3	4.8%
12	1	1.6%
13	1	1.6%

Question/Coding 5.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	2
2	1
3	1
5	2
6	1
7	1
8	2
10	1
n/a (500)	57

Question/Coding 5.3.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	1
3	3
4	5
8	7
9	1
11	1
12	4
13	1
14	1
n/a (500)	48

Question/Coding 5.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories -- see coding for key	Responses
2	2
3	7
4	9
8	14
9	4
10	2
11	1
15	3
16	1
17	2
18	1
19	1
500	37

Question 6.1.1.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Did the interviewees express concern with the term 'pride'?	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
Yes	17	27.4%
No	45	72.6%

Question 6.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
How proud are you of Germany with respect to the following?	Interpretation	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S 6.1.)	2 (S 6.1.)	3 (S 6.1.)	1 (S 6.1.)	2 (S 6.1.)	3 (S 6.1.)	1 (S 6.1.)	2 (S 6.1.)	3 (S 6.1.)	
a. ... the way democracy works.	Civic	14 22,6 %	23 37,1 %	25 40,3 %	9 28,1 %	12 37,5 %	11 34,4 %	5 16,7 %	11 36,7 %	14 46,7 %	No (SR = .190, Sig = .140)
b. ... the economic achievements.	Other	25 40,3 %	14 22,6 %	23 37,1 %	16 50,0 %	3 9,4 %	13 40,6 %	9 30,0 %	11 36,7 %	10 33,3 %	No (Sig = .422)
c. ... the social system.	Civic	29 46,8 %	11 17,7 %	22 35,5 %	17 53,1 %	5 15,6 %	10 31,3 %	12 40,0 %	6 20,0 %	12 40,0 %	No (Sig = .610)
d. ... the scientific and technological achievements.	Cultural	44 71,0 %	16 25,8 %	2 3,2 %	23 71,9 %	8 25,0 %	1 3,1 %	21 70,0 %	8 26,7 %	1 3,3 %	No (Sig = .528)
e. ... the achievements in sports.	Cultural	41 66,1 %	16 25,8 %	5 8,1 %	25 78,1 %	5 15,6 %	2 6,3 %	16 53,3 %	11 36,7 %	3 10,0 %	No (SR = .179, Sig = .165)
f. ... the achievements in the arts, literature and music.	Cultural	49 79,0 %	9 14,5 %	4 6,5 %	21 65,6 %	7 21,9 %	4 12,5 %	28 93,3 %	2 6,7 %	0 ,0 %	Yes (SR = -.370, Sig = .003)
g. ... the German army	Civic	15 24,2 %	20 32,3 %	27 43,5 %	8 25,0 %	8 25,0 %	16 50,0 %	7 23,3 %	12 40,0 %	11 36,7 %	No (Sig = .650)
h. ... German history.	Other	16 25,8 %	16 25,8 %	30 48,4 %	11 34,4 %	7 21,9 %	14 43,8 %	5 16,7 %	9 30,0 %	16 53,3 %	No (SR = .226, Sig = .078)
i. ... the fair and equal treatment of all social groups.	Civic	15 24,2 %	23 37,1 %	24 38,7 %	11 34,4 %	12 37,5 %	9 28,1 %	4 13,3 %	11 36,7 %	15 50,0 %	Yes (SR = .306, Sig = .016)
j. ... the German mentality.	Ethnic	14 22,6 %	25 40,3 %	23 37,1 %	9 28,1 %	15 46,9 %	8 25,0 %	5 16,7 %	10 33,3 %	15 50,0 %	Yes (SR = .257, Sig = .043)
k. ... the German landscape.	Other	51 82,3 %	8 12,9 %	3 4,8 %	29 90,6 %	2 6,3 %	1 3,1 %	22 73,3 %	6 20,0 %	2 6,7 %	No (Sig = .480)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding - S 6.1.): (1) very proud, proud, (2) not sure, (3) not very proud, not proud at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 6.1.): (1) very proud, (2) proud, (3) not sure, (4) not very proud, (5) not proud at all.

Question 6.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
How proud are you of Germany with respect to the following?	Interpretation	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant (Spearman's Rho based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S6.1.)	2 (S6.1.)	3 (S6.1.)	1 (S6.1.)	2 (S6.1.)	3 (S6.1.)	1 (S6.1.)	2 (S6.1.)	3 (S6.1.)	
a. ... the way democracy works.	Civic	14 22.6 %	23 37.1 %	25 40.3 %	5 17.9 %	9 32.1 %	14 50.0 %	9 26.5 %	14 41.2 %	11 32.4 %	No (SR = -.224, Sig = .079)
b. ... the economic achievements.	Other	25 40.3 %	14 22.6 %	23 37.1 %	10 35.7 %	8 28.6 %	10 35.7 %	15 44.1 %	6 17.6 %	13 38.2 %	No (Sig = .965)
c. ... the social system.	Civic	29 46.8 %	11 17.7 %	22 35.5 %	15 53.6 %	5 17.9 %	8 28.6 %	14 41.2 %	6 17.6 %	14 41.2 %	No (Sig = .635)
d. ... the scientific and technological achievements.	Cultural	44 71.0 %	16 25.8 %	2 3.2 %	18 64.3 %	8 28.6 %	2 7.1 %	26 76.5 %	8 23.5 %	0 .0 %	No (Sig = .521)
e. ... the achievements in sports.	Cultural	41 66.1 %	16 25.8 %	5 8.1 %	17 60.7 %	8 28.6 %	3 10.7 %	24 70.6 %	8 23.5 %	2 5.9 %	No (Sig = .448)
f. ... the achievements in the arts, literature and music.	Cultural	49 79.0 %	9 14.5 %	4 6.5 %	20 71.4 %	4 14.3 %	4 14.3 %	29 85.3 %	5 14.7 %	0 .0 %	No (SR = -.233, Sig = .068)
g. ... the German army	Civic	15 24.2 %	20 32.3 %	27 43.5 %	8 28.6 %	8 28.6 %	12 42.9 %	7 20.6 %	12 35.3 %	15 44.1 %	No (= .670)
h. ... German history.	Other	16 25.8 %	16 25.8 %	30 48.4 %	4 14.3 %	9 32.1 %	15 53.6 %	12 35.3 %	7 20.6 %	15 44.1 %	No (Sig = .206)
i. ... the fair and equal treatment of all social groups.	Civic	15 24.2 %	23 37.1 %	24 38.7 %	5 17.9 %	10 35.7 %	13 46.4 %	10 29.4 %	13 38.2 %	11 32.4 %	No (SR = -.209, Sig = .104)
j. ... the German mentality.	Ethnic	14 22.6 %	25 40.3 %	23 37.1 %	4 14.3 %	9 32.1 %	15 53.6 %	10 29.4 %	16 47.1 %	8 23.5 %	Yes (SR = -.305, Sig = .016)
k. ... the German landscape.	Other	51 82.3 %	8 12.9 %	3 4.8 %	22 78.6 %	5 17.9 %	1 3.6 %	29 85.3 %	3 8.8 %	2 5.9 %	No (Sig = .801)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S6.1.): (1) very proud, proud, (2) not sure, (3) not very proud, not proud at all.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 6.1.): (1) very proud, (2) proud, (3) not sure, (4) not very proud, (5) not proud at all.

Question/Coding 6.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	1
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	1
19	1
n/a (500)	46

Question 6.5.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
1	19	30.6%
2	10	16.1%
3	2	3.2%
4	4	6.5%
5	10	16.1%
6	3	4.8%
7	4	6.5%
8	2	3.2%
9	1	1.6%
10	2	3.2%
11	5	8.1%

Question 6.7.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
1	19	30.6%
2	3	4.8%
3	22	35.5%
4	11	17.7%
n/a (500)	7	11.3%

Question/Coding 6.8.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	3
2	6
3	1
4	6
5	3
6	1
7	4
8	1
9	1
n/a (500)	43

Question 7: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Answers from which the interviewees could choose	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
a. Germany should be an independent state but must be closely integrated/incorporated into the EU on a political, economic and cultural level.	44	71%
b. Germany should leave the EU and become a totally independent state.	3	4.8%
c. Germany should be dissolved in favour of a single European nation state.	3	4.8%
d. None of the above.	12	19.4%

Question/Coding 7.2.a.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	30
1	3
2	3
3	4
4	1
5	1
6	4
7	3
n/a (500)	18

Question/Coding 7.2.b.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	29
1	1
2	1
3	3
4	2
5	1
6	6
7	1
8	1
9	3
11	2
n/a (500)	18

Question/Coding 7.2.c.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	21
1	7
2	3
3	4
4	4
5	8
6	1
7	1
8	1
n/a (500)	18

Question/Coding 7.3.a.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	2
2	1
3	1
n/a (500)	59

Question/Coding 7.3.b.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
1	1
n/a (500)	59

Question/Coding 7.4.a.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
1	1
2	1
n/a (500)	59

Question/Coding 7.5.a.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	7
2	1
3	2
4	1
5	1
6	1
7	1
n/a (500)	50

Question/Coding 7.5.b.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	6
1	2
2	4
4	1
5	1
n/a (500)	50

Question/Coding 7.5.c.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	9
1	1
4	1
5	1
6	1
n/a (500)	50

Question/Coding 7.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	4
2	1
3	1
4	3
5	1
6	1
n/a (500)	51

Group of tables 2

Refers to the second main analysis-question (note: the tables are listed in the order in which the respective interview questions are mentioned in the main text): What is the nature of former 'Middle School' students' historical consciousness? What functions is the past (especially the 'ancient past') believed to fulfil in the present? How are the three temporal dimensions (past, present, future) connected? How much do people know about history (especially about the 'ancient past') and how do they feel about it?

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Bavaria 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Saxony 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
a. It is important to study deal with history because we can learn from the past.	(1) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	61	0	1	32	0	0	29	0	1	No (Sig = .662)
		98.4%	0%	1.6%	100%	0%	0%	98.4%	0%	1.6%	
b. History is interesting because it explains the present.	(1) Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	56	2	4	30	0	2	26	2	2	No (Sig = .963)
		90.3%	3.2%	6.5%	93.8%	0%	6.3%	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%	
c. Studying/dealing with history is positive because I am proud of my history and feel good when I look back on German history.	(1) Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity. (3) Destructive use of history, negative historical identity OR Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	13	21	28	7	12	13	6	9	15	No (Sig = .373)
		21%	33.9%	45.3%	21.9%	37.5%	40.6%	20%	30%	50%	

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding - S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Bavaria 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Saxony 1 (S 22)	2 (S 22)	3 (S 22)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
d. Studying/dealing with history is important because by looking at the past we understand better what we should aim for in the future.	(1) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	51	8	3	26	4	2	25	4	1	No (Sig = .605)
		82.3%	12.9%	4.8%	81.3%	12.5%	6.3%	81.3%	13.3%	4.8%	
e. History is entertaining.	(1) Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	53	3	6	26	2	4	27	1	2	No (Sig = .342)
		85.5%	4.8%	9.7%	81.3%	6.3%	12.5%	90%	3.3%	6.7%	
f. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is boring.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	2	2	58	1	2	29	1	0	29	No (Sig = .322)
		3.2%	3.2%	93.5%	3.1%	6.3%	90.6%	3.3%	0%	96.7%	

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.
Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Bavaria 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Saxony 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
g. I do not like studying dealing with history because it is complicated and difficult to understand.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	2 3.2 %	5 8.1 %	55 88.7 %	1 3.1 %	5 15.6 %	26 81.3 %	1 3.3 %	0 0 %	29 96.7 %	No (Sig = .203)
h. I am not interested in history because it is irrelevant to the present.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	0 0 %	0 0 %	62 100 %	0 0 %	0 0 %	32 100 %	0 0 %	0 0 %	30 100 %	No (Sig = .859)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding - S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
		1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	
i. I am not interested in history because it is painful and I do not want to think about it.	(1) Destructive use of history, negative historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity OR Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity.	3	0	59	2	0	30	1	0	29	No (Sig = .600)
		4.8%	0%	95.2%	6.3%	0%	93.8%	3.3%	0%	96.7%	

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.
Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Born after 1970 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Born before 1970 1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
a. It is important to study/deal with history because we can learn from the past.	(1) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity . (3) M inimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	61 98.4 %	0 0 %	1 1.6 %	28 100 %	0 0 %	0 0 %	33 97.1 %	0 0 %	1 2.9 %	Yes (SR = - .281, Sig = 0.27)
b. History is interesting because it explains the present.	(1) A ffirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity. (3) M inimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	56 90.3 %	2 3.2 %	4 6.5 %	24 85.7 %	2 7.1 %	2 7.1 %	32 94.1 %	0 0 %	2 5.9 %	No (Sig = .343)
c. Studying/dealing with history is positive because I am proud of my history and feel good when I look back on German history.	(1) A ffirmative use of history, continuous historical identity. (3) Destructive use of history, negative historical identity OR M inimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	13 21 %	21 33.9 %	28 45.3 %	3 10.7 %	8 28.6 %	17 60.7 %	10 29.4 %	13 38.2 %	11 32.4 %	Yes (SR = - .305, Sig = 0.16)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding = S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.
Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
		1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	
d. Studying/dealing with history is important because by looking at the past we understand better what we should aim for in the future.	(1) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	51 82.3%	8 12.9%	3 4.8%	22 78.6%	5 17.9%	1 3.6%	29 85.5%	3 8.8%	2 5.9%	No (Sig = .772)
e. History is entertaining.	(1) Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity.	53 85.5%	3 4.8%	6 9.7%	20 71.4%	3 10.7%	5 17.9%	33 97.1%	0 0%	1 2.9%	Yes (SR = -.310, Sig = .014)
f. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is boring.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	2 3.2%	2 3.2%	58 93.5%	2 7.1%	2 7.1%	24 85.7%	0 0%	0 0%	34 100%	Yes (SR = .226, Sig = .037)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total 1 2 3 (S22) (S22) (S22)			Born after 1970 1 2 3 (S22) (S22) (S22)			Born before 1970 1 2 3 (S22) (S22) (S22)			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
g. I do not like studying/dealing with history because it is complicated and difficult to understand.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	2 3.2%	5 8.1%	55 88.7%	2 7.1%	3 10.7%	23 82.1%	0 0%	2 5.9%	32 94.1%	No (SR = 0.244, Sig = 0.56)
h. I am not interested in history because it is irrelevant to the present.	(1) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity. (3) Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity OR Destructive use of history, negative historical identity.	0 0%	0 0%	62 100%	0 0%	0 0%	28 100%	0 0%	0 0%	34 100%	No (Sig = .487)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.
Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

Question 22.1.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

	Interpretations (based on von Borries 1984)	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range 1-5)
		1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	1 (S22)	2 (S22)	3 (S22)	
i. I am not interested in history because it is painful and I do not want to think about it.	(1) Destructive use of history, negative historical identity. (3) Minimal use of history, history-free historical identity OR Reflexive use of history, balanced historical identity OR Affirmative use of history, continuous historical identity.	3 4.8%	0 0%	59 95.2%	0 0%	0 0%	28 100%	3 8.8%	0 0%	31 91.2%	No (Sig = .804)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S22.1.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 4.1.): (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) not sure, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree

Question 22.3.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	3
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
n/a (500)	54

Question 8.1.a-f.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
In which areas of your life do you come into contact with history?	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho
	Often	Some-times	Never	Often	Some-times	Never	Often	Some-times	Never	
a. I read novels that are concerned with history.	14 22,6%	27 43,5%	21 33,9%	10 31,3%	7 21,9%	15 46,9%	4 13,3%	20 66,7%	6 20,0%	No (Sig = .520)
b. I read academic literature about history.	12 19,4%	33 53,2%	17 27,4%	7 21,9%	15 46,9%	10 31,3%	5 16,7%	18 60,0%	7 23,3%	No (Sig = .848)
c. I visit exhibitions, museums and/or archaeological sites.	22 35,5%	38 61,3%	2 3,2%	9 28,1%	21 65,6%	2 6,3%	13 43,3%	17 56,7%	0 ,0%	No (Sig = .138)
d. I visit memorials.	20 32,3%	37 59,7%	5 8,1%	9 28,1%	20 62,5%	3 9,4%	11 36,7%	17 56,7%	2 6,7%	No (Sig = .455)
e. I watch movies that are concerned with history.	33 53,2%	24 38,7%	5 8,1%	16 50,0%	13 40,6%	3 9,4%	17 56,7%	11 36,7%	2 6,7%	No (Sig = .578)
f. I watch documentaries about history.	40 64,5%	21 33,9%	1 1,6%	19 59,4%	13 40,6%	0 ,0%	21 70,0%	8 26,7%	1 3,3%	No (Sig = .456)

Question 8.1.a-f.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
In which areas of your life do you come into contact with history?	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho
	Often	Some-times	Never	Often	Some-times	Never	Often	Some-times	Never	
a. I read novels that are concerned with history.	14 22,6%	27 43,5%	21 33,9%	3 10,7%	12 42,9%	13 46,4%	11 32,4%	15 44,1%	8 23,5%	Yes (SR = -.297, Sig = .019)
b. I read academic literature about history.	12 19,4%	33 53,2%	17 27,4%	5 17,9%	15 53,6%	8 28,6%	7 20,6%	18 52,9%	9 26,5%	No (Sig = .787)
c. I visit exhibitions, museums and/or archaeological sites.	22 35,5%	38 61,3%	2 3,2%	10 35,7%	16 57,1%	2 7,1%	12 35,3%	22 64,7%	0 ,0%	No (Sig = .743)
d. I visit memorials.	20 32,3%	37 59,7%	5 8,1%	7 25,0%	19 67,9%	2 7,1%	13 38,2%	18 52,9%	3 8,8%	No (Sig = .397)
e. I watch movies that are concerned with history.	33 53,2%	24 38,7%	5 8,1%	13 46,4%	11 39,3%	4 14,3%	20 58,8%	13 38,2%	1 2,9%	No (Sig = .209)
f. I watch documentaries about history.	40 64,5%	21 33,9%	1 1,6%	17 60,7%	10 35,7%	1 3,6%	23 67,6%	11 32,4%	0 ,0%	No (Sig = .517)

Question 8.1.g.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
I am a member of a club or society that is concerned with history.	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
Yes	6	9.7%
No	56	90.3%

Question 8.1.h.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
I have studied history or archaeology, have attended courses or lectures in history and/or archaeology.	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
Yes	6	9.7%
No	56	90.3%

Question 9: Average Number of Keywords Associated with different Periods in German History (Mean) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony				
Periods	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances
German Pre- and Early History	2.26	2.44	2.07	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.41)
German Middle Ages	2.82	3.03	2.60	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.49)
Early Modern Period in Germany	3.15	2.66	3.67	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.19)
Modern Period in Germany	5.92	5.84	6.00	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0,88)

Question 9: Average Number of Keywords Associated with different Periods in German History (Mean) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)				
Periods	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances
German Pre- and Early History	2.26	1.93	2.53	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.18)
German Middle Ages	2.82	2.43	3.15	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.25)
Early Modern Period in Germany	3.15	2.39	3.76	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.07)
Modern Period in Germany	5.92	5.89	5.94	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0,96)

Question 9.1.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords: German Pre- and Early History	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Celts	50 80.6%	29 90.6%	21 70%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .040)	Yes (SR = .386, Sig = .002)
Ancient Germans	53 85.5%	28 87.5%	25 83.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .747)
Limes	46 74.2%	27 84.4	19 63.3%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .058)	No (SR = .219, Sig = .088)
Arminius/Varus Battle	37 59.7%	15 46.9%	22 73.3%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .034)	Yes (SR = -.412, Sig = .001)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).

Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question 9.1.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords: German Pre- and Early History	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Celts	50 80.6%	22 78.6	28 82.4%	No (df = 1, Sig = .708)	No (Sig = .692)
Ancient Germans	53 85.5%	20 71.4%	33 97.1%	n/a	Yes (SR = -.327, Sig = .010)
Limes	46 74.2%	18 64.3%	28 82.4%	No (df = 1, Sig = .106)	No (Sig = .107)
Arminius/Varus Battle	37 59.7%	14 50%	23 67.6%	No (df = 1, Sig = .159)	No (Sig = .314)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).

Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question/Coding 9.1.e: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	21
1	8
2	7
3	1
4	2
5	11
6	2
7	2
8	2
9	4
10	1
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	5
16	8
17	1
18	3
20	1
21	6
22	4
24	3
25	2
27	1
28	1
29	1
30	1
31	1
32	1
33	1
34	7
35	1
36	6
38	2

Question/Coding S.I.9.1.e: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	21
110	12
111	2
112	5
113	10
114	42
115	7
116	8
117	7
118	4
119	4

Question 9.2.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords: German Medieval History	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Charlemagne	51 82.3%	28 87.5%	23 76.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .264)	No (Sig = .264)
Otto I./Heinrich I.	31 50%	14 43.8%	17 56.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .309)	No (Sig = .108)
Holy Roman Empire	30 48.4%	16 50%	14 46.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .793)	No (Sig = .431)
City Federations, eg Hanse League	50 80.6%	27 84.4%	23 76.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .443)	No (Sig = .376)
Barbarossa	53 85.5%	25 78.1%	28 93.3%	n/a	No (SR = -.171, Sig = .184)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).
Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question 9.2.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords: German Medieval History	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Charlemagne	51 82.3%	21 75%	30 88.2%	n/a	No (Sig = .254)
Otto I./Heinrich I.	31 50%	11 39.3%	20 58.8%	No (df = 1, Sig = .126)	No (SR = -.246, Sig = .054)
Holy Roman Empire	30 48.4%	10 35.7%	20 58.8%	No (df = 1, Sig = .070)	No (SR = -.230, Sig = .072)
City Federations, eg. Hanse League	50 80.6%	19 67.9%	31 91.2%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .021)	Yes (SR = -.294, Sig = .020)
Barbarossa	53 85.5%	20 71.4%	33 97.1	n/a	Yes (SR = -.362, Sig = .004)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).

Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

**Question/Coding
9.2.f: Total
(Frequencies)**

Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
1	4
2	11
3	3
4	2
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	2
11	2
12	13
13	3
14	2
15	5
16	4
18	3
19	14
20	10
21	9

Question/Coding 9.2.f: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
22	3
23	2
24	3
25	5
26	2
27	4
29	1
30	1
31	1
32	1
33	7
35	2
36	2
38	1
39	2
40	1
41	1
42	1
43	3
46	1
47	1
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1
54	1
56	1
59	1
60	1
61	1
62	1
63	1
64	1
65	1
66	1

Question/Coding S.I.9.2.f: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
210	9
213	24
214	102
215	12
216	3
217	2

Question 9.3.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords: German Early Modern History	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Martin Luther/Reformation	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .309)
1848, Paulskirche	36 58.1%	14 43.8%	22 73.3%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .018)	Yes (SR = -.297, Sig = .019)
Friedrich the Great of Prussia	44 71%	20 62.5%	24 80%	No (df = 1, Sig = .129)	No (Sig = .333)
Marx and Engels	61 98.4%	31 96.9%	30 100%	n/a	No (SR = -.180, Sig = .162)
Deutscher Bund	19 30.6%	9 28.1%	10 33.3%	No (df = 1, Sig = .657)	No (Sig = .744)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).
Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question 9.3.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords: German Early Modern History	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Martin Luther/Reformation	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .298)
1848, Paulskirche	36 58.1%	15 53.6%	21 361.8%	No (df = 1, Sig = .515)	No (Sig = .519)
Friedrich the Great of Prussia	44 71%	18 64.3%	26 76.5%	No (df = 1, Sig = .293)	No (Sig = .472)
Marx and Engels	61 98.4%	28 100%	33 97.1%	n/a	No (Sig = 1.00)
Deutscher Bund	19 30.6%	7 25%	12 35.3%	No (df = 1, Sig = .382)	No (Sig = .390)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).
Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question/Coding 9.3.f: Total (Frequencies)

Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	13
1	3
2	3
3	18
4	3
5	4
6	5
7	2
8	1
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	6
14	1
15	2
16	1
17	8
18	1
19	6
20	1

Question/Coding 9.3.f: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
21	1
22	1
23	9
24	1
25	1
26	2
27	1
28	1
29	8
30	2
31	2
32	2
33	1
34	1
35	1
36	2
37	1
38	1
39	1
40	1
41	6
42	2
43	6
44	2
45	1
46	1
47	1
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	4
52	1
53	2
54	1
55	1
56	1
57	1
58	1
59	1
60	4
61	1
62	3
63	1

Question/Coding 9.3.f: Total (Frequencies)	
67	1
68	1
69	1
70	3
71	2
72	1
73	1
74	1
75	1
78	1
79	1
80	1
81	1
82	1
83	2

Question/Coding S.I.9.3.f: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	13
310	11
311	1
312	4
313	67
314	66
315	2
316	17
317	2
318	2

Question 9.4.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords: Modern German History	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Foundation of the German Reich/Bismarck	58 93.5%	30 93.8%	28 93.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .600)
WWI	61 98.4%	31 96.9%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .722)
Treaty of Versailles	51 82.3%	27 84.4%	24 80%	No (df = 1, Sig = .652)	No (Sig = .960)
Third Reich	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .673)
WWII	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .881)
Resistance in the Third Reich	56 90.3%	30 93.8%	26 86.7%	n/a	No (Sig = .399)
Holocaust	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (SR = .177, Sig = .169)
Building of the Wall	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .924)
Adenauer/Brandt	59 95.2%	31 96.9%	28 93.3%	n/a	Yes (SR = -.324, Sig = .010)
Ulbricht/Honecker	56 90.3%	26 81.3%	30 100%	n/a	Yes (SR = -.317, Sig = .012)
Reunification	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .320)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).
Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question 9.4.: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords: Modern German History	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 1,2 and unfamiliar: 3,4)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1 to 4)
Foundation of the German Reich/Bismarck	58 93.5%	26 92.9%	32 94.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .799)
WWI	61 98.4%	27 96.4%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .434)
Treaty of Versailles	51 82.3%	22 78.6%	29 85.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .707)
Third Reich	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	n/a
WWII	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	n/a
Resistance in the Third Reich	56 90.3%	24 85.7%	32 94.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .239)
Holocaust	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	n/a
Building of the Wall	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	n/a
Adenauer/Brandt	59 95.2%	26 92.9%	33 97.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .878)
Ulbricht/Honecker	56 90.3%	24 85.7%	32 94.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .273)
Reunification	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	No (SR = .241, Sig = .059)

Frequencies, Percentages and the Chi Square test is based on the summary (S9.1.-4.a.-k.).
Spearman's Rho is based on the whole range (9.1.-4.a.-k.)

Question/Coding 9.4.1: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	13
1	4
2	1
3	3
4	1
5	1
6	9
7	1
8	1
9	1
11	4
12	1

Question/Coding 9.4.1: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
13	1
14	2
15	6
16	7
17	5
18	2
19	1
20	15
21	3
22	4
23	6
24	1
25	3
26	1
27	3
28	1
29	2
30	4
31	2
32	3
33	3
34	10
35	3
36	1
37	4
38	3
40	4
41	1
42	2
43	1
44	1
45	2
46	1
47	1
48	1
49	3
50	2
51	1
52	1
53	1
54	1
55	1
56	1
57	1

Question/Coding 9.4.1: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
58	1
59	1
60	9
61	1
62	1
63	4
64	2
65	1
66	1
67	1
68	1
69	1
70	1
71	1
72	2
73	1
74	1
75	1
76	1
77	2
78	1
79	1
80	1
84	1
87	1
88	1
89	1
90	1
92	1
93	1
94	1
95	1
96	1
97	1

Question/Coding S.I.9.4.1: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	13
411	113
412	30
413	19
414	8
415	24
416	1
417	3

Question 16: Average Number of Keywords Associated with different Ancient Periods (Mean) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony				
Periods	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances
<i>Ancient Africa</i>	1.05	1.13	0.97	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.16)
Ancient Egypt	2.69	2.66	2.73	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.70)
<i>Ancient Orient</i>	2.61	2.5	2.73	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.78)
Persian Empire	0.29	0.41	0.17	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.20)
Ancient Mesopotamia	0.61	0.69	0.53	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.50)
Early Islam	0.26	0.41	0.19	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.08)
<i>Ancient Asia</i>	2.65	2.94	2.33	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.42)
Ancient China	0.34	0.56	0.1	Yes ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.03)
The Huns	0.21	0.22	0.2	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.88)
<i>Ancient Europe</i>	2.79	2.91	2.67	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.74)
European Prehistory	0.6	0.9	0.3	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.34)
Ancient Greece	3.5	4.31	2.63	Yes ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.03)
The Roman Empire	3.1	3.22	2.97	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.72)
Early Middle Ages	0.6	0.9	0.3	No ($P(T \leq t)$ two-tail = 0.34)

Question 16: Average Number of Keywords Associated with different Ancient Periods (Mean) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Periods	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances
<i>Ancient Africa</i>	1.05	0.75	1.29	Yes (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.04)
Ancient Egypt	2.69	2.57	2.79	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.65)
<i>Ancient Orient</i>	2.61	2.32	2.85	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.53)
Persian Empire	0.29	0.18	0.38	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.27)
Ancient Mesopotamia	0.61	0.46	0.74	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.23)
Early Islam	0.26	0.11	0.38	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.13)
<i>Ancient Asia</i>	2.65	2.21	3.00	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.22)
Ancient China	0.34	0.11	0.53	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.06)
The Huns	0.21	0.18	0.24	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.64)
<i>Ancient Europe</i>	2.79	2.64	2.91	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.71)
European Prehistory	0.6	0	0.12	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.06)
Ancient Greece	3.5	2.86	4.03	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.15)
The Roman Empire	3.1	2.82	3.32	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.48)
Early Middle Ages	0.6	0	0.12	No (P(T<=t) two-tail = 0.06)

Question 16.1.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Egypt</i>	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (SR = .165, Sig = .199)
Pyramids	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .337)
Hieroglyphs	61 98.4%	32 100%	29 96.7%	n/a	No (SR = 3.11, Sig = .014)

Question 16.1.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Egypt</i>	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .527)
Pyramids	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	No (SR = .237, Sig = .064)
Hieroglyphs	61 98.4%	28 100%	33 97.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .318)

Question/Coding 16.1.I.b. (category I – Ancient Africa): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	28
1	19
2	1
3	4
4	2
5	4
6	1
7	3
8	2
9	1
10	2
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	3
15	1
16	2
17	1
18	1
19	1
22	1
23	1
24	1

Question/Coding S.I.16.1.b. (category I – Ancient Africa): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	28
110	36
111	13
112	3
113	2

Question/Coding 16.1.II.a. (category II – Ancient Egypt): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	15
1	2
2	33
3	11
4	3
5	2
6	5
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	3
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	3
15	2
16	4
17	1
18	4
19	3
20	3
21	1
22	1
23	2
24	3
25	1
26	1
27	3
28	1
29	4
30	1
31	1
32	1
33	1
35	1
36	1
37	1
39	2
41	1
42	1
43	1
44	1

Question/Coding 16.1.II.a. (category II – Ancient Egypt): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
45	1
46	1
47	1
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1
53	1
56	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.1.a. (category II – Ancient Egypt): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	15
210	124
211	2

Question 16.2.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Persian Empire</i>	42 67.7%	24 75%	18 60%	No (df = 1, Sig = .207)	No (Sig = .397)
Darius	7 11.3%	6 18.8%	1 3.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .619)

Question 16.2.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Persian Empire</i>	42 67.7%	17 60.7%	25 73.5	No (df = 1, Sig = .283)	No (Sig = .510)
Darius	7 11.3%	1 3.6%	6 17.6%	n/a	Yes (SR = -.390, Sig = .002)

Question 16.2.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Mesopotamia</i>	52 83.9%	27 84.4%	25 83.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .966)
Babylon	55 88.7%	30 93.8%	25 83.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .429)
Hammurabi	12 19.4%	7 21.9%	5 16.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .604)	No (Sig = .130)

Question 16.2.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Mesopotamia</i>	52 83.9%	22 78.6%	30 88.2%	n/a	No (Sig = .364)
Babylon	55 88.7%	23 82.1%	32 94.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .376)
Hammurabi	12 19.4%	4 14.3%	8 23.5%	No (df = 1, Sig = .359)	No (Sig = .321)

Question 16.2.c: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Early Islam</i>	50 80.6%	27 84.4%	23 76.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .443)	Yes (SR = .312, Sig = .014)
Caliph System	31 50%	16 50%	15 50%	No (df = 1, Sig = 1.0)	No (Sig = .509)
Mohammed	58 93.5%	31 96.9%	27 90%	n/a	Yes (SR = .304, Sig = .016)

Question 16.2.c: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)					
Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Early Islam</i>	50 80.6%	19 67.9%	31 91.9%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .021)	Yes (SR = -.289, Sig = .023)
Caliph System	31 50%	12 42.9%	19 55.9%	No (df = 1, Sig = .307)	No (Sig = .286)
Mohammed	58 93.5%	26 92.9%	32 94.1%	No (df=1, Sig = .841)	No (Sig = .234)

Question/Coding 16.2.I.d. (category I – the Ancient Orient): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	23
1	5
2	1
3	2
4	3
5	2
6	1
7	2
8	1
9	1
10	2
11	2
12	3
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	1
18	4
19	3
20	1
21	1
22	1
23	3
24	5
25	1
26	1
27	1
28	1
29	2
30	1
31	3
32	1
33	1
34	1
35	1
36	6
37	1
38	1
39	2
40	1
41	2

Question/Coding 16.2.I.d. (category I – the Ancient Orient): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
42	1
43	1
44	1
45	1
46	1
47	1
48	2
49	4
50	1
51	1
52	2
53	1
54	1
55	1
56	2
60	1
61	1
62	2
67	1
69	1
70	1
71	3
73	1
75	1
76	1
77	1
78	1
79	2
80	2
81	1
82	1
83	1
84	1

Question/Coding S.I.16.2.d. (category I – the Ancient Orient): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	23
310	86
311	11
312	6
313	7
314	4
315	6

Question/Coding 16.2.II.a. (category II – the Persian Empire): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	52
1	6
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	2
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.2.a. (category II – the Persian Empire): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	52
410	10
411	9
412	2

Question/Coding 16.2.II.b. (category II – Ancient Mesopotamia): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	36
1	15
2	1
3	4
4	1
5	2
6	2
7	2
8	2
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.2.b. (category II – Ancient Mesopotamia): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	36
510	34
511	1

Question/Coding 16.2.II.c. (category II – Early Islam): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	55
1	1
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	2
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.2.c. (category II – Early Islam): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	55
610	9
611	1

Question 16.3.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient China</i>	51 82.3%	28 87.5%	23 76.7%	No (df = 1; Sig = .264)	No (Sig = .275)
The Great Wall	60 96.8%	30 93.8%	30 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .852)
Ancient Dynasties	41 66.1%	23 71.9%	18 60%	No (df = 1, Sig = .323)	No (Sig = .283)

Question 16.3.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born before 1970	Born after 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient China</i>	51 82.3%	22 78.6%	29 85.3%	n/a	No (SR = -.207, Sig = .106)
The Great Wall	60 96.8%	26 92.9%	34 100%	n/a	No (SR = -.191, Sig = .136)
Ancient Dynasties	41 66.1%	18 64.3%	23 67.6%	No (df = 1, Sig = .781)	No (Sig = .965)

Question 16.3.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Huns</i>	53 85.5%	29 90.6%	24 80%	n/a	No (Sig = .771)
Attila	51 82.3%	28 87.5%	23 76.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .264)	No (SR = -.192, Sig = .136)

Question 16.3.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Huns</i>	53 85.5%	24 85.7%	29 85.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .830)
Attila	51 82.3%	21 75%	30 88.2%	n/a	No (Sig = .558)

**Question/Coding
16.3.I.c. (category I –
Ancient Asia): Total
(Frequencies)**

Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	24
1	1
2	1
3	3
4	1
5	2
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	1

Question/Coding 16.3.I.c. (category I – Ancient Asia): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
11	3
12	4
13	6
14	2
15	1
16	14
17	3
18	15
19	1
20	5
21	1
22	1
23	2
24	1
25	1
26	1
27	2
28	3
29	2
30	1
31	2
32	1
33	3
34	1
35	1
36	1
37	2
38	1
39	2
40	1
41	1
42	1
44	1
46	1
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1

Question/Coding S.I.16.3.c. (category I – Ancient Asia): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	24
710	80
711	19
712	1
713	3
714	3

Question/Coding 16.3.II.a. (category II – Ancient China): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	55
1	3
2	1
3	2
4	1
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	1
10	1
11	1
16	1
19	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.3.a. (category II – Ancient China): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	55
80	16

Question/Coding 16.3.II.b. (category II – the Huns): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	54
1	2
2	1
3	1
4	3
5	1
6	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.3.b. (category II – the Huns): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	54
90	7
91	1
92	1

Question 16.4.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony					
Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>European Prehistory</i>	61 98.4%	32 100%	29 96.7%	n/a	No (Sig = .678)
Neanderthals	61 98.4%	32 100%	29 96.7%	n/a	No (Sig = .914)
Cave Paintings at Lascaux	55 88.7%	28 87.5%	27 90%	n/a	No (Sig = .785)

Question 16.4.a: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>European Prehistory</i>	61 98.4%	27 96.4%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .397)
Neanderthals	61 98.4%	27 96.4%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .630)
Cave Paintings at Lascaux	55 88.7%	24 85.7%	31 91.2%	n/a	No (Sig = .615)

Question 16.4.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Greece</i>	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (SR = .198, Sig = .122)
Agamemnon	31 50%	16 50%	15 50%	No (df = 1, Sig = 1.0)	No (Sig = .759)
Athenian Democracy	26 41.9%	13 40%	13 43.3%	No (df = 1, Sig = .829)	No (Sig = .475)
Polis	16 25.8%	8 25%	8 26.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .881)	No (Sig = .727)

Question 16.4.b: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Ancient Greece</i>	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	Yes (SR = -.263, Sig = .039)
Agamemnon	31 50%	8 28.6%	23 67.6%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .002)	Yes (SR = -.399, Sig = .001)
Athenian Democracy	26 41.9%	10 35.7%	16 47.1%	No (df = 1, Sig = .368)	No (Sig = .268)
Polis	16 25.8%	8 28.6%	8 23.5%	No (df = 1, Sig = .652)	No (Sig = .889)

Question 16.4.c: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Roman Empire</i>	62 100%	32 100%	30 100%	n/a	No (SR = .214, Sig = .095)
Hannibal	58 93.5%	30 93.8%	28 93.3%	n/a	No (Sig = .555)
Spartacus	50 86.6%	22 68.8%	28 93.3%	Yes (df = 1, Sig = .014)	Yes (SR = -.332, Sig = .008)
Cesar	61 98.4%	32 100%	29 96.7%	n/a	No (SR = -.181, Sig = .159)

Question 16.4.c: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970s	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>The Roman Empire</i>	62 100%	28 100%	34 100%	n/a	No (Sig = .446)
Hannibal	58 93.5%	26 92.9%	32 94.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .295)
Spartacus	50 86.6%	22 78.6%	28 82.4%	No (df = 1, Sig = .708)	No (Sig = .476)
Cesar	61 98.4%	28 100%	33 97.1%	n/a	No (Sig = .272)

Question 16.4.d: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Keywords	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Early Middle Ages in Europe</i>	44 71%	24 75%	20 66.7%	No (df = 1, Sig = .470)	No (Sig = .561)
Migration Period	44 71%	22 68.8%	22 73.3%	No (df = 1, Sig = .691)	No (Sig = .413)
The Frank Empire	32 51.6%	14 43.8%	18 60%	No (df = 1, Sig = .201)	No (SR = -.218, Sig = .089)

Question 16.4.d: Familiar Keywords (includes: associated without prompting and familiar when prompted) – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Keywords	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970	Significant? Pearson's Chi Square Test (based on two categories – familiar: 6,7,8 and unfamiliar: 9,10)	Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 6 to 10)
<i>Early Middle Ages in Europe</i>	44 71%	18 64.3%	26 76.5%	No (df = 1, Sig = .293)	No (SR = -.213, Sig = .096)
Migration Period	44 71%	17 60.7%	27 79.4%	No (df = 1, Sig = .107)	Yes (SR = -.266, Sig = .036)
The Frank Empire	32 51.6%	13 46.4%	19 55.9%	No (df = 1; Sig = .459)	No (Sig = .289)

Question/Coding 16.4.I.e. (category I – Ancient Europe): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	33
1	2
2	1
3	9
4	5
5	1
6	9
7	1
8	4
9	2
10	1
11	1
12	10
13	3
14	6
15	1
16	1
17	1
18	2
19	1
20	4
21	2
22	4
23	1
24	1
25	1
26	2
27	1
28	1
29	1
30	1
31	1
32	1
35	1
36	1

Question/Coding S.I.16.4.e. (category I – Ancient Europe): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	33
810	3
811	5
812	10
813	5
814	24
815	12
816	8
817	7
818	10

Question/Coding 16.4.II.a. (category II – European Prehistory): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	58
1	1
2	1
3	1
4	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.4.a. (category II – European Prehistory): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	58
1	1
2	1
3	1
4	1

Question/Coding 16.4.II.b. (category II – Ancient Greece): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	14
1	6
2	3
3	10
4	1
5	3
6	1
7	1
8	4
9	13
10	2
11	4
12	2
13	15
14	3
15	1
16	1
17	8
18	4
19	1
20	2
21	1
22	5
23	10
24	4
25	6
26	3
27	1
28	1
29	1
30	1
31	4
32	4
33	1
34	2
35	8
36	1
37	2
38	4
39	6
40	1

Question/Coding 16.4.II.b. (category II – Ancient Greece): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
41	1
42	2
43	1
44	4
45	3
46	3
47	2
48	3
49	1
50	2
51	2
52	1
53	3
54	2
55	1
56	1
57	2
58	1
59	1
60	1
61	2
62	1
63	1
64	1
66	1
67	1
68	1
69	1
70	1
71	1
72	1
73	1
75	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.4.b. (category II – Ancient Greece): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	14
910	170
911	22
912	2
913	8

Question/Coding 16.4.II.c. (category II – the Roman Empire): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	15
1	15
2	2
3	19
4	1
5	5
6	1
7	1
8	4
9	6
10	6
11	2
12	1
13	7
14	6
15	1
16	2
17	11
18	1
19	1
20	2
21	1
22	1
23	3
24	3
25	1
26	1
27	4

Question/Coding 16.4.II.c. (category II – the Roman Empire): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
28	3
29	5
30	1
31	2
32	1
33	1
34	4
35	1
36	2
37	1
38	1
39	1
40	1
41	3
42	1
43	2
44	1
45	1
46	1
47	1
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1
53	1
54	1
55	2
58	1
59	1
60	1
62	1
63	2
64	1
65	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.4.c. (category II – the Roman Empire): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	15
51	1
310	86
311	38
312	10
313	6
314	7
315	6
316	5

Question/Coding 16.4.II.d. (category II – Early Middle Ages): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	60
1	1
2	1

Question/Coding S.II.16.4.d. (category II – Early Middle Ages): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	60
1	1
2	1

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 9.2.		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	German Middle Ages/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail

2.26	2.82	No (Sig = .145)
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Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 9.3.		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Early Modern period in Germany/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	3.15	Yes (Sig = .050)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 9.4.		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Modern Period in Germany/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	5.92	Yes

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.1.b.I		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Africa/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	1.05	Yes

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.2.d.I		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Orient/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	2.61	No (Sig = .455)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.3.c.I.		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Asia/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	2.65	No (Sig = .325)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.4.b.II		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Greeks/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	3.5	Yes (Sig = .000)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.4.c.II		
German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Rome/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	3.1	Yes (Sig = .045)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.4.c.II and Question 16.2.d.I		
Ancient Orient/total number of keywords	Ancient Rome/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	3.1	No (Sig = .037)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.2.d.I and Question 16.4.b.II

Ancient Orient/total number of keywords	Ancient Greece/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	3.5	No (Sig = .131)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.4. and Question 16.4.b.II

Modern Period in Germany/total number of keywords	Ancient Greece/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
5.92	3.5	Yes (Sig = .000)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.2. and Question 9.3.

German Middle Ages/total number of keywords	Early Modern period in Germany/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.82	3.15	No (Sig = .052)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.2. and Question 9.4.

German Middle Ages/total number of keywords	Modern period in Germany/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.82	5.92	Yes

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.3. and Question 9.4.

Early Modern period in Germany/total number of keywords	Modern period in Germany/total number of keywords	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
3.15	5.92	Yes

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.1.a.II

German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Egypt	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	2.69	No (Sig = .218)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.2.a.II and Question 16.1.b.I

Persian Empire	Ancient Africa	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
0.29	1.05	Yes (Sig = .000)

Persian Empire	Ancient Mesopotamia	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
0.29	0.61	Yes (Sig = .029)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 9.1. and Question 16.2.b.II

German pre- and early history/total number of keywords	Ancient Mesopotamia	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances,
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		P(T<=t) two-tail
2.26	0.61	Yes

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.2.c.II and Question 16.2.b.II

Early Islam	Ancient Mesopotamia	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
0.26	0.61	Yes (.016)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.2.a.II and Question 16.3.a.II

Persian Empire	Ancient China	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
0.29	0.34	No (.740)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.2.d.I and Question 16.4.e.I

Ancient Orient	Ancient Europe	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
2.61	2.79	No (.750)

Comparison: Number of Associated Keywords – Question 16.4.b.II and Question 16.4.c.II

Ancient Greeks	Roman Empire	Significant? t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances, P(T<=t) two-tail
3.5	3.1	No (.455)

**Question/Coding 11.l.:
Total (Frequencies)**

Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	32
2	3
3	2
4	8
5	11
6	26
7	12
8	21
9	9
10	2
11	3
12	2

Question/Coding 11.l.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
13	1
14	10
15	3
16	1
17	20
18	1
19	5
20	2
21	1
22	6
23	1
24	1
25	1
26	3
27	5
28	1
29	3
30	2
31	5
32	3
33	2
34	2
35	2
36	1
37	2
38	8
39	7
40	4
41	1
42	1
43	2
44	3
45	2
46	1
47	2
48	1
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1
53	1
54	1
55	1

Question/Coding 11.1: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
56	2
57	2
58	2
59	1
60	2
61	3
62	10
63	3
64	2
65	2
66	1
67	1
68	3
69	2
71	1
72	2
73	3
74	1
75	1
76	1
77	2
78	1
79	3
80	1
81	1
82	1
83	1
84	1
85	1
86	1
87	1
88	1
89	1
90	1
91	1
92	1
95	1
97	1
98	2
100	1
101	1
102	1

Question/Coding S.I.11.1.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
310	193
311	2
312	22
313	15
314	17
315	67
316	3
318	6

Question/Coding S.II.11.1.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
410	1
411	17
412	92
413	201
414	1
415	2
416	11

Question/Coding S.III.11.1.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
11	2
102	1
510	5
511	266
512	25
513	18
515	1
516	7

Question 12.1.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Are you proud of particular periods, events and/or individuals in German history?	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
yes	36	51.8%
yes, but 'proud' is not quite the right word	4	6.5%
no	22	35.5%

Question/Coding 12.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
4	3
5	1
6	4
8	4
9	6
10	1
11	1
12	1
14	6
17	5
18	1
19	3
22	1
32	2
34	4
37	2
38	4
39	5
40	1
41	1
42	1
45	3
46	2
57	1
62	4
63	1
64	2
65	1
68	1
71	2
79	2
80	1
85	2
100	2

Question/Coding 12.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
102	1
103	1
104	1
105	1
106	1
107	2
108	1
109	1
110	1
111	1
112	1
113	1
114	1
115	1
116	1
117	1
119	1
120	1
121	1
122	1
123	1
124	2
125	2
126	1
127	1
128	1
129	1
600	22

Question/Coding S.I.12.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
310	38
312	7
313	17
314	1
315	32
316	3
317	1
318	12
600	22

Question/Coding S.II.12.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
411	2
412	34
413	68
414	1
416	6
600	22

Question/Coding S.III.12.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
511	98
512	4
513	2
515	5
516	2
600	22

Question 13.1.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
Are you ashamed of particular periods, events and/or individuals in German history?	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
(1) Yes.	25	40.3%
(2) yes, but 'ashamed' is not really the right term in this context – 'upset' might be better.	6	9.7%
(3) yes, the German people as a whole should be ashamed but individuals should not feel ashamed – it was/is not their fault.	5	8.1%
(5) No, why should Germans still feel ashamed? It is not right that the Germans are still expected to feel bad about their past – it happened a long time ago and other countries were just as bad.	1	1.6%
(6) No.	10	16.1%
(7) No, because it is not my fault/my responsibility	6	9.7%
(8) No, one should not be ashamed of history – it is important to accept it the way it is	1	1.6%
(9) No, one should not and cannot be ashamed of history – it just is the way it is/it just happened the way it happened.	1	1.6%
(10) No, being 'ashamed' is not the right word in this context	2	3.2%
(11) 5 & 7	1	1.6%
(12) 2& 3	3	4.8%
(13) 7 & 10	1	1.6%

Question/Coding 13.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	9
4	1
7	12
43	6
44	4
71	1
78	14
130	5
131	2
133	1
134	1
135	1
136	1
137	1
138	1
139	1
140	1
141	1
142	1
600	22

Question/Coding S.I.13.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
310	27
312	2
314	25
317	8
318	2
600	22

Question/Coding S.II.13.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
411	1
413	53
415	2
416	8
600	22

Question/Coding S.III.13.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
511	36
512	2
513	17
514	2
515	7
600	22

Question 14.1.: Frequencies/Percentages (Total, Bavaria and Saxony)			
In summary would you say that ...	Total	Bavaria	Saxony
1. „... you are mostly proud of German history“.	23 37,1%	11 34,4%	12 40,0%
2. „... you are mostly ashamed of German history“.	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%
3. „... you are neither proud nor ashamed of German history“.	37 59,7%	20 62,5%	17 56,7%
4. None of the above	2 3,2%	1 3,1%	1 3,3%

The Chi Square test showed that there are no significant differences between the answers from Bavaria and those from Saxony (Sig = .639).

Question 14.1.: Frequencies/Percentages (Total and Age Groups)			
In summary would you say that ...	Total	Born after 1970	Born before 1970
1. you are mostly proud of German history“.	23 37,1%	8 28,6%	15 44,1%
2. “... you are mostly ashamed of German history”.	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%
3. “... you are neither proud nor ashamed of German history”.	37 59,7%	18 64,3%	19 55,9%
4. None of the above	2 3,2%	2 7,1%	0 ,0%

The Chi Square test showed that there are no significant differences between the answers from The two different age groups (Sig = .292).

Question/Coding 14.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	20
1	2
2	1
n/a (600)	39

Question/Coding 14.3.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	26
1	4
2	1
3	1
4	2
5	1
6	1
7	1
n/a (600)	25

Question/Coding 14.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	1
2	1
n/a (600)	60

Question 15.1.: Frequencies/Percentages (Total, Bavaria and Saxony)			
	Total	Bavaria	Saxony
a. Good and bad things happened in German history but I am not responsible for them.	4 6,5%	2 6,3%	2 6,7%
b. I am not directly responsible for German history but I think that it is my duty to learn from both the positive and the negative things that happened in the past.	52 83,9%	27 84,4%	25 83,3%
c. As a German I am responsible for the history of my country and my ancestors.	1 1,6%	1 3,1%	0 ,0%
d. None of the above.	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%
e. a and b	1 1,6%	1 3,1%	0 ,0%
f. b and c	4 6,5%	1 3,1%	3 10,0%

Question 15.1.: Frequencies/Percentages (Total and Age Groups)			
	Total	Born before 1970	Born after 1970
a. Good and bad things happened in German history but I am not responsible for them.	4 6,5%	2 7,1%	2 5,9%
b. I am not directly responsible for German history but I think that it is my duty to learn from both the positive and the negative things that happened in the past.	52 83,9%	24 85,7%	28 82,4%
c. As a German I am responsible for the history of my country and my ancestors.	1 1,6%	0 ,0%	1 2,9%
d. None of the above.	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%
e. a and b	1 1,6%	1 3,6%	0 ,0%
f. b and c	4 6,5%	1 3,6%	3 8,8%

Question/Coding 15.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
1	2
2	1
n/a (600)	57

Question/Coding 15.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	45
1	9
2	1
4	1
n/a (600)	6

Question/Coding 15.5.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	2
2	1
n/a (600)	58

Question/Coding 15.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	1
n/a (600)	61

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Question 18.1.-6.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony											
	Interpretation	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman' Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	
18.1. In ancient times great cultural and artistic achievements were made that still – until this day - influence people in Germany.	(1) Cultural element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past.	56	4	2	30	1	1	26	3	1	No (Sig = .433)
	(3) Cultural element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	90,3%	6,5%	3,2%	93,8%	3,1%	3,1%	86,7%	10,0%	3,3%	
18.2. We owe the basis of our current social order in Germany to the ancient past.	(1) Possibly civic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past.	20	14	28	8	6	18	12	8	10	No (SR = -.169, Sig =.190)
	(3) Civic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	32,3%	22,6%	45,2%	25,0%	18,8%	56,3%	40,0%	26,7%	33,3%	
18.3. The basis for our political order was laid in the ancient past.	(1) Civic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past.	39	9	14	19	4	9	20	5	5	No (Sig = .548)
	(2) Civic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	62,9%	14,5%	22,6%	59,4%	12,5%	28,1%	66,7%	16,7%	16,7%	

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S18.1.-6.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree. Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 18.1.-6.): strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree.

Question 18.1.-6.: Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

	Interpretation	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman' Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	
18.4. In the ancient past the preconditions for the emergence of a German state in northern Europe were created.	(1) Homeland: probably civic, possibly ethnic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Civic or ethnic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	30 48,4%	13 21,0%	19 30,6%	12 37,5%	8 25,0%	12 37,5%	18 60,0%	5 16,7%	7 23,3%	Yes (SR = -.264, Sig = .038)
18.5. In the ancient past ethnic (for example, Swabians) and national (for example, Germans, French) groups were formed that still exist until today.	(1) Ethnic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Ethnic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	50 80,6%	4 6,5%	8 12,9%	25 78,1%	3 9,4%	4 12,5%	25 83,3%	1 3,3%	4 13,3%	No (Sig = .363)
18.6. The ancient past has nothing to do with Germany today	(1) Ancient past perceived as irrelevant. (2) Ancient past perceived as irrelevant.	9 14,5%	5 8,1%	48 77,4%	2 6,3%	3 9,4%	27 84,4%	7 23,3%	2 6,7%	21 70,0%	No (Sig = .947)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S18.1.-6.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree. Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 18.1.-6.): strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree.

Question 18.1.-6.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
	Interpretation	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman' Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	
18.1. In ancient times great cultural and artistic achievements were made that still – until this day - influence people in Germany.	(1) Cultural element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Cultural element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	56 90,3%	4 6,5%	2 3,2%	25 89,3%	2 7,1%	1 3,6%	31 91,2%	2 5,9%	1 2,9%	No (Sig = .427)
18.2. We owe the basis of our current social order in Germany to the ancient past.	(1) Possibly civic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Civic ??? element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	20 32,3%	14 22,6%	28 45,2%	7 25,0%	8 28,6%	13 46,4%	13 38,2%	6 17,6%	15 44,1%	No (Sig = .513)
18.3. The basis for our political order was laid in the ancient past.	(1) Civic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (2) Civic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	39 62,9%	9 14,5%	14 22,6%	13 46,4%	7 25,0%	8 28,6%	26 76,5%	2 5,9%	6 17,6%	No (SR = -.234, Sig = .067)

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S18.1.-6.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree.
Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 18.1.-6.): strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree.

Question 18.1.-6.: Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)											
	Interpretation	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman' Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
		1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	1 (S18)	2 (S18)	3 (S18)	
18.4. In the ancient past the preconditions for the emergence of a German state in northern Europe were created.	(1) Homeland: probably civic, possibly ethnic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Civic or ethnic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	30	13	19	9	9	10	21	4	9	Yes (SR = -.280, Sig = .028)
		48,4%	21,0%	30,6%	32,1%	32,1%	35,7%	61,8%	11,8%	26,5%	
18.5. In the ancient past ethnic (for example, Swabians) and national (for example, Germans, French) groups were formed that still exist until today.	(1) Ethnic element of national identity perceived to have origins in the ancient past. (3) Ethnic element of national identity not perceived as having origins in the ancient past.	50	4	8	24	1	3	26	3	5	No (Sig = .685)
		80,6%	6,5%	12,9%	85,7%	3,6%	10,7%	76,5%	8,8%	14,7%	
18.6. The ancient past has nothing to do with Germany today	(1) Ancient past perceived as irrelevant. (2) Ancient past perceived as irrelevant.	9	5	48	5	4	19	4	1	29	Yes (SR = .303, Sig = .017)
		14,5%	8,1%	77,4%	17,9%	14,3%	67,9%	11,8%	2,9%	85,3%	

Frequencies and percentages are based on the summary (coding – S18.1.-6.): (1) strongly agree, agree, (2) not sure, (3) disagree, strongly disagree. Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 18.1.-6.): strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree.

Question/Coding 18.1.1. (those who have chosen 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	10
1	3
4	2
6	3
7	2
8	4
9	2
10	1
12	5
13	1
14	3
15	2
18	2
20	1
21	2
24	1
25	1
26	3
27	3
28	1
29	1
30	2
31	1
32	2
33	3
35	1
36	1
39	1
500	23

Question/Coding S.I.18.1.1. (those who have chosen 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	10
110	33
112	1
113	7
114	11
115	2
500	23

Question/Coding S.II.18.1.1. (those who have chosen 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	10
210	31
212	1
213	15
214	4
215	3
500	23

Question/Coding 18.1.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	1
2	1
3	3
4	1
5	1
6	2
8	1
12	1
16	2
17	2
19	1
20	1
22	1
23	1
26	1
27	1
28	1
37	1
41	1
500	45

Question/Coding S.I.18.1.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
110	9
111	1
112	5
113	3
114	6
500	45

Question/Coding S.II.18.1.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
210	9
211	1
212	5
213	9
500	45

Question/Coding 18.2.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	3
500	58

Question/Coding S.I.18.2.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
310	3
500	58

Question/Coding S.II.18.2.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
410	3
500	58

Question/Coding 18.2.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
1	4
2	1
3	1
6	2
8	3
9	1
10	1
500	46

Question/Coding S.I.18.2.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
310	12
312	1
500	46

Question/Coding S.II.18.2.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
410	12
412	1
500	46

Question/Coding 18.2.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
4	1
7	1
500	48

Question/Coding S.I.18.2.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
310	1
311	1
500	48

Question/Coding S.II.18.2.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
410	1
411	1
500	48

Question/Coding 18.2.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	11
4	1
5	2
6	1
500	47

Question/Coding S.I.18.2.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	11
310	1
311	3
500	47

Question/Coding S.II.18.2.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	11
410	1
411	3
500	47

Question/Coding 18.2.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	9
4	4
500	49

Question/Coding S.I.18.2.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	9
311	4
500	49

Question/Coding S.II.18.2.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	9
411	4
500	49

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Question/Coding 18.3.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
2	4
5	3
8	1
9	1
16	2
500	50

Question/Coding S.I.18.3.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
5	2
500	50
511	4
512	1
513	4

Question/Coding S.II.18.3.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
500	50
610	5
611	1
612	5

Question/Coding 18.3.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	22
1	2
2	6
3	1
4	1
5	6
6	3
7	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	2
15	4
16	2
20	1
500	70

Question/Coding S.I.18.3.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	22
5	1
500	70
510	6
511	9
512	1
513	14
515	1

Question/Coding S.II.18.3.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	22
500	70
610	15
611	1
612	16

Question/Coding 18.3.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
2	1
18	1
19	1
500	53

Question/Coding S.I.18.3.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
500	53
511	1
513	1
514	1

Question/Coding S.II.18.3.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
500	53
610	1
612	1
613	1

Question/Coding 18.3.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	3
10	3
13	1
500	55

Question/Coding S.I.18.3.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	3
500	55
513	1
514	3

Question/Coding S.II.18.3.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	3
500	55
612	1
613	3

Question/Coding S.I.18.3.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	6
500	55
514	1

Question/Coding S.II.18.3.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	6
500	55
613	1

Question/Coding 18.4.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
3	4
4	6
9	2
10	2
12	1
13	1
500	47

Question/Coding S.I.18.4.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
500	47
710	7
711	9

Question/Coding S.II.18.4.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
500	47
810	2
811	7
812	5
813	2

Question/Coding 18.4.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
1	2
2	2
3	1
4	3
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
11	1
14	1
500	47

Question/Coding S.I.18.4.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
500	47
710	6
711	7
712	1

Question/Coding S.II.18.4.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
500	47
811	7
812	6
814	1

Question/Coding 18.4.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
6	1
7	1
500	49

Question/Coding S.I.18.4.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
500	49
710	1
712	1

Question/Coding S.II.18.4.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	12
500	49
812	1
814	1

Question/Coding 18.4.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
6	3
8	1
500	52

Question/Coding S.I.18.4.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
500	52
711	1
712	3

Question/Coding S.II.18.4.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
500	52
811	1
814	3

Question/Coding 18.5.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
2	9
3	9
4	5
5	4
6	3
7	1
9	1
10	3
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	2
17	2
18	3
19	4
20	1
21	3
22	2
23	1
27	1
28	1
29	2
30	1
32	1
34	1
35	1
36	1
37	1
38	1
39	1
40	2
500	27

Question/Coding S.II.18.5.1. (those who chose 1 – ‘I strongly agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	7
5	2
500	27
910	28
911	14
912	19
913	2
914	3
915	5
916	1

Question/Coding 18.5.2. (those who chose 2 – ‘I agree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
1	3
2	1
8	1
10	1
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	1
18	1
25	1
27	1
28	1
32	1
41	1
500	47

Question/Coding S.II.18.5.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
500	47
910	2
911	1
912	5
914	1
915	7

Question/Coding 18.5.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
24	1
26	1
500	58

Question/Coding S.II.18.5.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
500	58
916	2

Question/Coding 18.6.3. (those who chose 3 – ‘not sure’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	3
1	1
4	1
500	57

Question/Coding 18.6.4. (those who chose 4 – ‘I disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	19
1	2
2	1
3	1
500	39

Question/Coding 18.6.5. (those who chose 5 – ‘I strongly disagree’): Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	22
1	1
5	1
6	1
500	37

Question 19.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
a. The ancient German past is more important than the ancient past of other places to explain the origins of Germany.	2	3,2%
b. It does not make a difference whose ancient history we are studying; history underwent the same developments and processes all over the world.	5	8,1%
c. In order to understand the very foundations of development of German history we must study the ancient Greeks and/or the Romans – without the Classical heritage Germany would be very different today.	24	38,7%
d. Neither the ancient German past nor the ancient past of other places in the world has anything to do with the present in Germany.	0	0%
e. I am not in a position to judge this/to tell.	7	11,3%
f. None of the above.	1	1,6%
b.) and c.)	11	17,7%
a.) and c.)	7	11,3%
b.), c.) and d.)	1	1,6%
a.) and e.)	1	1,6%
a.), b.) and c.)	3	4,8%

No statistical significance testing possible.

Question/Coding 19.7.1.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	3
1	1
2	1
4	2
5	1
7	1
n/a (500)	56

Question/Coding 19.7.2.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	5
1	3
2	3
6	1
10	1
n/a (500)	51

Question/Coding 19.7.3.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	1
3	1
6	2
n/a (500)	57

Question/Coding 19.7.4.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
8	1
n/a (500)	61

Question/Coding 19.7.5.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	19
1	1
4	1
9	2
10	3
11	2
n/a (500)	37

Question/Coding 19.7.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	1
1	2
2	1
n/a (500)	58

Question 20.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
a. It is completely normal that as German I am more interested in the ancient past of the German lands than in the ancient past of other countries and cultures.	4	6,5%
b. I think the ancient German past is embarrassing in comparison to the ancient past of the Greeks and Romans who have reached a much higher level of civilisation long before us.	4	6,5%
d. I do not think it is right to distinguish between the ancient German past and the ancient past of Greece and Rome – these cultures have greatly influenced the development of Germany and are therefore part of our history.	43	69,4%
e. I think that ancient history is irrelevant for the present and am therefore not interested in a comparison between the ancient German past and the history of other places and cultures/civilisations	1	1,6%
f. None of the above.	2	3,2%
a.) and c.)	3	4,8%
b.) and c.)	4	6,5%
c.) and d.)	1	1,6%

No statistical significance testing possible.

Question/Coding 20.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	4
n/a (500)	58

Question/Coding 20.7.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
1	2
2	3
n/a (500)	57

Question/Coding 20.8.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	39
1	1
4	1
5	1
6	1
n/a (500)	19

Question/Coding 20.9.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
0	2
2	2
n/a (500)	58

Question/Coding 20.10.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Responses
1	1
7	1
n/a (500)	60

Group of tables 3

Refers to the third main analysis-question (note: the tables are listed in the order in which the respective interview questions are mentioned in the main text): How do former 'Middle School' students feel about their history education?

Question/Coding 23.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)
1	8
2	6
3	7
4	13
5	7
6	18
7	7
8	3
9	4
10	3
11	3
12	15
13	9
14	17
15	6
17	1
18	3
19	4
20	6
21	1
22	4
23	2
24	1
25	7
26	1
27	1

Question 23. (Summary): Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony				
Categories	Total	Bavaria	Saxony	Significant? Chi Square (excluding 'other')
Positive	52	19	33	Yes (Sig = .010)
Negative	99	58	41	
Other	6	5	1	
Total	157	82	75	

Question 23. (Summary): Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)				
Categories	Total	Born Before 1970	Born after 1970	Significant? Chi Square (excluding 'other')
Positive	52	58	41	Yes (Sig = 0.19)
Negative	99	20	32	
Other	6	1	5	
Total	157	79	78	

Question 23.6.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)
1	5
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	4
7	2
8	1
9	3
11	2
12	2
13	1
n/a (500)	44

Question 23.7.: Total (Frequencies)	
Categories – see coding for key	Frequencies (Total)
1	3
2	1
3	2
4	1
5	2
6	2
7	1
8	1
9	2
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
500	45

Group of tables 4

Refers to the fourth main analysis-question (note: the tables are listed in the order in which the respective interview questions are mentioned in the main text): Where did former 'Middle School' students learn about the past (especially about 'ancient history')? What are the main sources of their knowledge and how important is history education?

Overview (Total): Question 10 and 17 – Sources of the Interviewees’ Knowledge of History															
Periods	School			Tourism, museums etc.			Books			Films			Media		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
German Pre- and Early History	34	7	21	32	4	26	14	0	48	20	4	38	17	4	41
	54,8%	11,3%	33,9%	51,6%	6,5%	41,9%	22,6%	0%	77,4%	32,3%	6,5%	61,3%	27,4%	6,5%	66,1%
German Middle Ages	44	4	14	39	3	20	26	2	34	29	3	30	19	1	42
	71,0%	6,5%	22,6%	62,9%	4,8%	32,3%	41,9%	3,2%	54,8%	46,8%	4,8%	48,4%	30,6%	1,6%	67,7%
Early Modern Period in Germany	51	3	8	34	2	26	26	3	33	31	2	29	20	4	38
	82,3%	4,8%	12,9%	54,8%	3,2%	41,9%	41,9%	4,8%	53,2%	50,0%	3,2%	46,8%	32,3%	6,5%	61,3%
Modern History in Germany	49	1	12	40	1	21	38	2	22	49	2	11	39	3	20
	79,0%	1,6%	19,4%	64,5%	1,6%	33,9%	61,3%	3,2%	35,5%	79,0%	3,2%	17,7%	62,9%	4,8%	32,3%
Ancient Africa	20	6	36	17	2	43	23	1	38	25	1	36	16	3	43
	32,3%	9,7%	58,1%	27,4%	3,2%	69,4%	37,1%	1,6%	61,3%	40,3%	1,6%	58,1%	25,8%	4,8%	69,4%
Ancient Orient	12	9	41	9	0	53	10	1	51	16	1	45	13	2	47
	19,4%	14,5%	66,1%	14,5%	0%	85,5%	16,1%	1,6%	82,3%	25,8%	1,6%	72,6%	21,0%	3,2%	75,8%
Ancient Asia	5	4	53	6	1	55	12	1	49	19	0	43	10	2	50
	8,1%	6,5%	85,5%	9,7%	1,6%	88,7%	19,4%	1,6%	79,0%	30,6%	0%	69,4%	16,1%	3,2%	80,6%
Ancient Europe	51	4	7	36	2	24	32	1	29	35	0	27	26	1	35
	82,3%	6,5%	11,3%	58,1%	3,2%	38,7%	51,6%	1,6%	46,8%	56,5%	0%	43,5%	41,9%	1,6%	56,5%

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10/S17): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Question 10.1.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of German Pre- and Early History – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	34 54,8%	7 11,3%	21 33,9%	15 46,9%	6 18,8%	11 34,4%	19 63,3%	1 3,3%	10 33,3%	No (Sig = .744)
Tourism, museums etc	32 51,6%	4 6,5%	26 41,9%	20 62,5%	3 9,4%	9 28,1%	12 40,0%	1 3,3%	17 56,7%	Yes (SR = .276, Sig = .030)
Books	14 22,6%	0 0%	48 77,4%	10 31,3%	0 0%	22 68,8%	4 13,3%	0 0%	26 86,7%	No (Sig = .283)
Films	20 32,3%	4 6,5%	38 61,3%	12 37,5%	3 9,4%	17 53,1%	8 26,7%	1 3,3%	21 70,0%	No (SR = .189, Sig = .142)
Media	17 27,4%	4 6,5%	41 66,1%	13 40,6%	3 9,4%	16 50,0%	4 13,3%	1 3,3%	25 83,3%	Yes (SR = .309, Sig = 0.15)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.1.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.1.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.1.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of German Pre- and Early History – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	34 54,8%	7 11,3%	21 33,9%	14 50,0%	3 10,7%	11 39,3%	20 58,8%	4 11,8%	10 29,4%	No (Sig = .654)
Tourism, museums etc	32 51,6%	4 6,5%	26 41,9%	13 46,4%	2 7,1%	13 46,4%	19 55,9%	2 5,9%	13 38,2%	No (Sig = .376)
Books	14 22,6%	0 0%	48 77,4%	3 10,7%	0 0%	25 89,3%	11 32,4%	0 0%	23 67,6%	No (SR = - .222, Sig = .082)
Films	20 32,3%	4 6,5%	38 61,3%	6 21,4%	1 3,6%	21 75,0%	14 41,2%	3 8,8%	17 50,0%	No (SR = - .197, Sig = .125)
Media	17 27,4%	4 6,5%	41 66,1%	7 25,0%	3 10,7%	18 64,3%	10 29,4%	1 2,9%	23 67,6%	No (Sig = .623)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.1.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.1.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.2.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of German Medieval History – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	44 71,0%	4 6,5%	14 22,6%	23 71,9%	3 9,4%	6 18,8%	21 70,0%	1 3,3%	8 26,7%	No (Sig = .532)
Tourism, museums etc	39 62,9%	3 4,8%	20 32,3%	22 68,8%	3 9,4%	7 21,9%	17 56,7%	0 ,0%	13 43,3%	No (SR = .176, Sig = .170)
Books	26 41,9%	2 3,2%	34 54,8%	15 46,9%	0 ,0%	17 53,1%	11 36,7%	2 6,7%	17 56,7%	No (Sig = .571)
Films	29 46,8%	3 4,8%	30 48,4%	13 40,6%	0 ,0%	19 59,4%	16 53,3%	3 10,0%	11 36,7%	No (Sig = .279)
Media	19 30,6%	1 1,6%	42 67,7%	11 34,4%	0 ,0%	21 65,6%	8 26,7%	1 3,3%	21 70,0%	No (Sig = .685)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.2.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.2.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.2.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of German Medieval History – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	44 71,0%	4 6,5%	14 22,6%	18 64,3%	2 7,1%	8 28,6%	26 76,5%	2 5,9%	6 17,6%	No (Sig = .390)
Tourism, museums etc	39 62,9%	3 4,8%	20 32,3%	18 64,3%	1 3,6%	9 32,1%	21 61,8%	2 5,9%	11 32,4%	No (Sig = .744)
Books	26 41,9%	2 3,2%	34 54,8%	5 17,9%	1 3,6%	22 78,6%	21 61,8%	1 2,9%	12 35,3%	Yes (SR = - .471, Sig = .000)
Films	29 46,8%	3 4,8%	30 48,4%	8 28,6%	2 7,1%	18 64,3%	21 61,8%	1 2,9%	12 35,3%	Yes (SR = - .360, Sig = .004)
Media	19 30,6%	1 1,6%	42 67,7%	6 21,4%	0 ,0%	22 78,6%	13 38,2%	1 2,9%	20 58,8%	No (SR = - .171, Sig = .184)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.2.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.2.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.3.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Early Modern German History – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony

Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	51 82,3%	3 4,8%	8 12,9%	22 68,8%	3 9,4%	7 21,9%	29 96,7%	0 ,0%	1 3,3%	Yes (SR = -.429, Sig = .000)
Tourism, museums etc	34 54,8%	2 3,2%	26 41,9%	22 68,8%	1 3,1%	9 28,1%	12 40,0%	1 3,3%	17 56,7%	Yes (SR = .261, Sig = .040)
Books	26 41,9%	3 4,8%	33 53,2%	15 46,9%	1 3,1%	16 50,0%	11 36,7%	2 6,7%	17 56,7%	No (Sig = .474)
Films	31 50,0%	2 3,2%	29 46,8%	17 53,1%	0 ,0%	15 46,9%	14 46,7%	2 6,7%	14 46,7%	No (Sig = .638)
Media	20 32,3%	4 6,5%	38 61,3%	12 37,5%	2 6,3%	18 56,3%	8 26,7%	2 6,7%	20 66,7%	No (Sig = .215)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.3.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.3.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.3.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Early Modern German History – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)

Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	51 82,3%	3 4,8%	8 12,9%	21 75,0%	1 3,6%	6 21,4%	30 88,2%	2 5,9%	2 5,9%	No (Sig = .616)
Tourism, museums etc	34 54,8%	2 3,2%	26 41,9%	14 50,0%	1 3,6%	13 46,4%	20 58,8%	1 2,9%	13 38,2%	No (Sig = .556)
Books	26 41,9%	3 4,8%	33 53,2%	7 25,0%	2 7,1%	19 67,9%	19 55,9%	1 2,9%	14 41,2%	Yes (SR = -.371, Sig = .003)
Films	31 50,0%	2 3,2%	29 46,8%	10 35,7%	1 3,6%	17 60,7%	21 61,8%	1 2,9%	12 35,3%	Yes (SR = -.343, Sig = .006)
Media	20 32,3%	4 6,5%	38 61,3%	7 25,0%	2 7,1%	19 67,9%	13 38,2%	2 5,9%	19 55,9%	Yes (SR = -.279, Sig = .028)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.3.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.3.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.4.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Modern German History – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	49 79,0%	1 1,6%	12 19,4%	22 68,8%	1 3,1%	9 28,1%	27 90,0%	0 ,0%	3 10,0%	No (SR = - .219, Sig = .087)
Tourism, museums etc	40 64,5%	1 1,6%	21 33,9%	19 59,4%	1 3,1%	12 37,5%	21 70,0%	0 ,0%	9 30,0%	No (SR = - .220, Sig = .086)
Books	38 61,3%	2 3,2%	22 35,5%	21 65,6%	1 3,1%	10 31,3%	17 56,7%	1 3,3%	12 40,0%	No (Sig = .308)
Films	49 79,0%	2 3,2%	11 17,7%	25 78,1%	1 3,1%	6 18,8%	24 80,0%	1 3,3%	5 16,7%	No (Sig = .850)
Media	39 62,9%	3 4,8%	20 32,3%	22 68,8%	2 6,3%	8 25,0%	17 56,7%	1 3,3%	12 40,0%	No (Sig = .269)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.4.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.4.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 10.4.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Modern German History – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	1 (S10)	2 (S10)	3 (S10)	
School	49 79,0%	1 1,6%	12 19,4%	24 85,7%	0 ,0%	4 14,3%	25 73,5%	1 2,9%	8 23,5%	No (SR = - .221, Sig = .084)
Tourism, museums etc	40 64,5%	1 1,6%	21 33,9%	17 60,7%	0 ,0%	11 39,3%	23 67,6%	1 2,9%	10 29,4%	No (Sig = .501)
Books	38 61,3%	2 3,2%	22 35,5%	14 50,0%	2 7,1%	12 42,9%	24 70,6%	0 ,0%	10 29,4%	No (SR = - .194, Sig = .130)
Films	49 79,0%	2 3,2%	11 17,7%	20 71,4%	2 7,1%	6 21,4%	29 85,3%	0 ,0%	5 14,7%	No (Sig = .351)
Media	39 62,9%	3 4,8%	20 32,3%	16 57,1%	3 10,7%	9 32,1%	23 67,6%	0 ,0%	11 32,4%	No (Sig = .965)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S10.4.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 10.4.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.1.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient African History – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	20 32,3%	6 9,7%	36 58,1%	13 40,6%	4 12,5%	15 46,9%	7 23,3%	2 6,7%	21 70,0%	No (SR = .185, Sig = .151)
Tourism, museums etc	17 27,4%	2 3,2%	43 69,4%	10 31,3%	1 3,1%	21 65,6%	7 23,3%	1 3,3%	22 73,3%	No (Sig = .575)
Books	23 37,1%	1 1,6%	38 61,3%	13 40,6%	0 ,0%	19 59,4%	10 33,3%	1 3,3%	19 63,3%	No (Sig = .833)
Films	25 40,3%	1 1,6%	36 58,1%	15 46,9%	0 ,0%	17 53,1%	10 33,3%	1 3,3%	19 63,3%	No (Sig = .562)
Media	16 25,8%	3 4,8%	43 69,4%	10 31,3%	2 6,3%	20 62,5%	6 20,0%	1 3,3%	23 76,7%	No (Sig = .354)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.1.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.1.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.1.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient African History – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	20 32,3%	6 9,7%	36 58,1%	10 35,7%	3 10,7%	15 53,6%	10 29,4%	3 8,8%	21 61,8%	No (Sig = .659)
Tourism, museums etc	17 27,4%	2 3,2%	43 69,4%	8 28,6%	2 7,1%	18 64,3%	9 26,5%	0 ,0%	25 73,5%	No (Sig = .441)
Books	23 37,1%	1 1,6%	38 61,3%	10 35,7%	1 3,6%	17 60,7%	13 38,2%	0 ,0%	21 61,8%	No (Sig = .323)
Films	25 40,3%	1 1,6%	36 58,1%	8 28,6%	1 3,6%	19 67,9%	17 50,0%	0 ,0%	17 50,0%	Yes (SR = - .291, Sig = .022)
Media	16 25,8%	3 4,8%	43 69,4%	5 17,9%	3 10,7%	20 71,4%	11 32,4%	0 ,0%	23 67,6%	No (Sig = .283)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.1.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.1.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.2.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of the Ancient Orient – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	12 19,4%	9 14,5%	41 66,1%	8 25,0%	5 15,6%	19 59,4%	4 13,3%	4 13,3%	22 73,3%	No (SR = .204, Sig = .111)
Tourism, museums etc	9 14,5%	0 0%	53 85,5%	4 12,5%	0 0%	28 87,5%	5 16,7%	0 0%	25 83,3%	No (SR = - .177, Sig = .168)
Books	10 16,1%	1 1,6%	51 82,3%	6 18,8%	0 ,0%	26 81,3%	4 13,3%	1 3,3%	25 83,3%	No (Sig = .764)
Films	16 25,8%	1 1,6%	45 72,6%	12 37,5%	0 ,0%	20 62,5%	4 13,3%	1 3,3%	25 83,3%	No (Sig = .207)
Media	13 21,0%	2 3,2%	47 75,8%	10 31,3%	1 3,1%	21 65,6%	3 10,0%	1 3,3%	26 86,7%	No (Sig = .341)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.2.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.2.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.2.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of the Ancient Orient – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	12 19,4%	9 14,5%	41 66,1%	7 25,0%	4 14,3%	17 60,7%	5 14,7%	5 14,7%	24 70,6%	No (Sig = .669)
Tourism, museums etc	9 14,5%	0 0%	53 85,5%	3 10,7%	0 0%	25 89,3%	6 17,6%	0 0%	28 82,4%	No (SR = - .244, Sig = .056)
Books	10 16,1%	1 1,6%	51 82,3%	2 7,1%	1 3,6%	25 89,3%	8 23,5%	0 ,0%	26 76,5%	No (SR = - .218, Sig = .089)
Films	16 25,8%	1 1,6%	45 72,6%	5 17,9%	1 3,6%	22 78,6%	11 32,4%	0 ,0%	23 67,6%	Yes (SR = - .287, Sig = .024)
Media	13 21,0%	2 3,2%	47 75,8%	6 21,4%	1 3,6%	21 75,0%	7 20,6%	1 2,9%	26 76,5%	No (Sig = .225)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.2.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.2.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.3.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient Asia – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	5 8,1%	4 6,5%	53 85,5%	5 15,6%	3 9,4%	24 75,0%	0 0,0%	1 3,3%	29 96,7%	No (Sig = .302)
Tourism, museums etc	6 9,7%	1 1,6%	55 88,7%	3 9,4%	0 0,0%	29 90,6%	3 10,0%	1 3,3%	26 86,7%	No (Sig = .247)
Books	12 19,4%	1 1,6%	49 79,0%	8 25,0%	0 0,0%	24 75,0%	4 13,3%	1 3,3%	25 83,3%	No (Sig = .373)
Films	19 30,6%	0 0%	43 69,4%	12 37,5%	0 0%	20 62,5%	7 23,3%	0 0%	23 76,7%	No (Sig = .375)
Media	10 16,1%	2 3,2%	50 80,6%	8 25,0%	1 3,1%	23 71,9%	2 6,7%	1 3,3%	27 90,0%	Yes (SR = .268, Sig = .035)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.3.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.3.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.3.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient Asia – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	5 8,1%	4 6,5%	53 85,5%	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	27 96,4%	5 14,7%	3 8,8%	26 76,5%	Yes (SR = - .422, Sig = .001)
Tourism, museums etc	6 9,7%	1 1,6%	55 88,7%	1 3,6%	1 3,6%	26 92,9%	5 14,7%	0 0,0%	29 85,3%	No (SR = - .205, Sig = .109)
Books	12 19,4%	1 1,6%	49 79,0%	2 7,1%	1 3,6%	25 89,3%	10 29,4%	0 0,0%	24 70,6%	Yes (SR = - .354, Sig = .005)
Films	19 30,6%	0 0%	43 69,4%	5 17,9%	0 0%	23 82,1%	14 41,2%	0 0%	20 58,8%	Yes (SR = - .344, Sig = .006)
Media	10 16,1%	2 3,2%	50 80,6%	2 7,1%	1 3,6%	25 89,3%	8 23,5%	1 2,9%	25 73,5%	No (SR = - .193, Sig = .132)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.3.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.3.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.4.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient Europe – Total and Differences between Interviewees from Bavaria and Saxony										
Source	Total			Bavaria			Saxony			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	51 82,3%	4 6,5%	7 11,3%	27 84,4%	2 6,3%	3 9,4%	24 80,0%	2 6,7%	4 13,3%	No (Sig = .690)
Tourism, museums etc	36 58,1%	2 3,2%	24 38,7%	22 68,8%	0 ,0%	10 31,3%	14 46,7%	2 6,7%	14 46,7%	No (Sig = .201)
Books	32 51,6%	1 1,6%	29 46,8%	19 59,4%	0 ,0%	13 40,6%	13 43,3%	1 3,3%	16 53,3%	No (Sig = .349)
Films	35 56,5%	0 0%	27 43,5%	18 56,3%	0 0%	14 43,8%	17 56,7%	0 0%	13 43,3%	No (Sig = .976)
Media	26 41,9%	1 1,6%	35 56,5%	15 46,9%	0 ,0%	17 53,1%	11 36,7%	1 3,3%	18 60,0%	No (Sig = .599)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.4.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.4.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 17.4.: Sources of the Interviewees' Knowledge of Ancient Europe – Total and Differences between Age Groups (Interviewees born before and after 1970)										
Source	Total			Born after 1970			Born before 1970			Significant? Spearman's Rho (based on whole range: 1-5)
	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	1 (S17)	2 (S17)	3 (S17)	
School	51 82,3%	4 6,5%	7 11,3%	24 85,7%	1 3,6%	3 10,7%	27 79,4%	3 8,8%	4 11,8%	No (Sig = .223)
Tourism, museums etc	36 58,1%	2 3,2%	24 38,7%	15 53,6%	1 3,6%	12 42,9%	21 61,8%	1 2,9%	12 35,3%	No (Sig = .600)
Books	32 51,6%	1 1,6%	29 46,8%	11 39,3%	1 3,6%	16 57,1%	21 61,8%	0 ,0%	13 38,2%	No (SR = -.248, Sig = .052)
Films	35 56,5%	0 0%	27 43,5%	12 42,9%	0 0%	16 57,1%	23 67,6%	0 0%	11 32,4%	Yes (SR = -.247, Sig = .031)
Media	26 41,9%	1 1,6%	35 56,5%	11 39,3%	1 3,6%	16 57,1%	15 44,1%	0 ,0%	19 55,9%	No (Sig = .572)

Frequencies and Percentages are based on the summary (coding S17.4.): (1) very much and much, (2) not sure, (3) hardly any, not at all

Spearman's Rho test is based on the full range of answers (coding 17.4.): (1) very much, (2) much, (3) not sure, (4) hardly any, (5) not at all.

Question 24.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
Yes, we have – almost exclusively.	38	61.3%
Yes, we have – but not exclusively.	16	25.8%
No, I cannot remember.	2	3.2%
No, we have not.	6	9.7%

No statistical significance testing possible.

Question 24.b.: Total (Frequencies)	
	Frequencies (Total)
No answer	2
Lecture/presentation by the teacher (' <i>Lehrervortrag</i> '), notes handed out by the teacher, stories, pictures on the blackboard.	7
The teacher brought in other teaching materials (for examples films, sources, maps, ' <i>Wandbilder</i> ' etc.).	14
Excursions and site/museum visits.	2
n/a	40

Group of tables 5

Refers to the fifth main analysis-question (note: the tables are listed in the order in which the respective interview questions are mentioned in the main text): Do former 'Middle School' students believe history to be fact or do they have a more open, critical view of the production and presentation of historical information?

Question 27.: Total (Frequencies and Percentages)		
See coding for key	Frequencies (Total)	Percentages (Total)
a.) but b.) is also true to a certain extent	3	4.8%
Between b.) and c.)	14	22.6%
c.)	6	9.7%
b.) but a.) is also true to some extent	6	9.7%
b.)	17	27.4%
a.)	16	25.8%

Summary Question 27.: Total (Percentages)	
	Percentages (Total)
a.)	25.8%
b.)	27.4%
a.) & b.)	14.5%
b.) & c.)	22.6%
c.)	9.7%